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PRESERVATIVE AGAINST POPERY,

IN SEVERAL

Select Discourses

UPON THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS OF CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

PROTESTANTS AND PAPISTS:

BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED

By the most eminent Divines of the Church of England,

CHIEFLY IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

COLLECTED BY

THE RIGHT REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D.

SUCCESSIONLY LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN AND LONDON,

[B. 1669, D. 1748.]

CAREFULLY REVISED AND EDITED

FOR THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES
OF THE REFORMATION,

BY

THE REV. JOHN CUMMING, D.D.

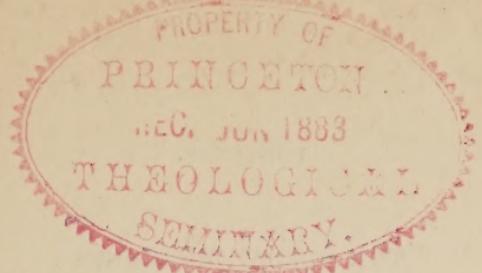
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WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

JUSTLY CONDEMNED.

BOOK V.

THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES AND RELICS.

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Of their Answers to the Testimonies from Scripture and Antiquity urged against them.

THAT men's affections will clap a strong bias upon their judgment, is very evident from the proceedings of this Council, who (as we have seen) admire the slenderest testimonies imaginable, which seem to favour their own opinion; but reject the most solid and substantial evidence alleged against it, both from Scripture and antiquity; of which we will produce a few examples.

When they are pinched with the Second Commandment* (which is part of the moral law that Christ came to fulfil, and not to destroy), "they are very angry that their adversaries should take words spoken long ago under the law to the Israelites, who worshipped the golden calf, and made trial of the Egyptians' abominations, and apply them to Christians :"† whereas these words were spoken before that people wor-

* V. Treatise of Fallib. chap. 3. p. 39, &c. † Act. 6. p. 467. A.
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shipped the calf, and do oblige Christians as well as Jews ; yea, and condemn these when they make images or pictures to worship them, as well as the Israelites. And whereas in the same place they pretend this law was given to the Jews, because they were to go into a land where they were idolaters : I would ask if the Christians, for the first 300 or 400 years, did not also live among idolaters ? If they did, then for this reason doubtless they had no images for so long time however. And if this make the commandment to be binding, the Spaniards should have carried no images into America, nor the Jesuits into the East Indies. In another place, when a Jew is mentioned citing the second commandment, John, the legate of the Oriental see, saith, the devil put it into his heart to add these words, “Nor the likeness of anything.”* Yet those are the very syllables which God put into Moses’s mouth. They would do well to consider who put it into their heart, to add to this law, “to worship the likeness of any thing as God ;”† which is a mere device to excuse their idolatry.

When they are told out of the New Testament, that Christ hath freed us from idolatry, and delivered us that worship which is in spirit and truth, John iv. 24,‡ they make no reply there, but afterwards they say, “No Christians did ever give that worship, which is in spirit and truth, to images, or to the figure of the cross.”§ But let it be observed, that they often pretend the worship which they give to any image, is not for its own sake, but for the sake of that which it represents. From whence it follows, that they do not worship an image of Christ in spirit and truth ; yea, though the worship they give it be directed to him it represents ; yet still it is not a worship in spirit and truth, and consequently it is not that worship which Christ delivered to us, which they give to Christ himself, when they worship him by his image ; and can we imagine he will accept a meaner and another sort of worship of their own devising ?

I should tire the reader and myself, if I should reckon up their slight and blundered answers to many other very pertinent places of holy writ : so that I will barely relate these texts, *viz.* John xx. 19, “Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.”|| “Though we have known Christ

* Act 5. p. 386. D. † Ibid. p. 355. C. ‡ Act. 6. p. 402. E.

§ Ibid. p. 466. C. || Act. 6. p. 463. C.

according to the flesh, yet now from henceforth know we him no more," 2 Cor. v. 16. "For we walk by faith, and not by sight," ib. ver. 7.* All which plainly declare, that since Christ is now glorified, we must not worship him by letting our senses dwell on his outward figure, as he was on earth, but must worship him by faith, and suit our notions of him to his glorified state.

How confident soever these Nicene Fathers seem, that all the Councils are on their side, their adversaries solemnly declare, that they receive all the six General Councils;† and they may safely do so, because there is nothing in any of them concerning the adoring of images, no more than there is in the ancient Creeds. So that I wonder these image-worshippers can prove their adversaries to be (what they often call them) heretics and apostates. They tell us indeed, some heretics did receive some of the General Councils, but still they did reject others; whereas the enemies of image-worship received all the Councils which had been then held in the Church.

The former Council against images had affirmed, that the Fathers did own no other image of Christ, but the bread and wine in the holy eucharist: but this Council denies that any of the ancients called the eucharist, the image of his body;‡ yet the margin of the other page confesses, that Nazianzen and Cyril, and other Greek Fathers, do call the elements after they are sanctified, antitypes of Christ.§ Now an antitype is a copy taken from the original, and Hesychius expounds *τύπος* by *χαρακτῆρ* and *εἰκὼν*; so that they mean, they are images of Christ; or, as Tertullian speaks, a figure of his body.|| It is still visible in the liturgy of St. Basil, that after the words of consecration (by which the Romanists pretend the change is made) the symbols are called antitypes.¶ Wherfore when they are made what the consecration makes them, they still were believed to be only images of Christ; and these Fathers of Nice were so hampered with this objection, that they were forced to set up the new doctrine of transubstantiation, to evade the force of this argument and authority. And withal, we may perceive how little they value the testimony and sense of antiquity, when it is against them.

Epiphanius is cited by their adversaries, "forbidding the people to bring any images of the saints into their churches

* Ibid. p. 467. D. † Ibid. p. 423. C. Ibid. p. 447. E.

§ Ibid. p. 450. D. || Tertul. adver. Marc. lib. 4. [p. 458. Par. 1695.]

¶ Liturg. Basil. edit. Jac. Goar. p. 169.

or churchyards, or houses, because they should have God always in their hearts ; and it was not lawful for Christians to be diverted by gazing about, or by the wandering of their minds.”* And to this they can find no reply, but by saying they will not believe this to be the saying of Epiphanius, or that he did condemn image-worship. I answer, no man is more likely to condemn that worship than Epiphanius, for he blames the Carpocratian heretics for having and adoring the image of Jesus :† and severely censures the Collyridians, for offering before a certain chariot prepared for the Virgin Mary, calling the making images an invention of the devil.‡ And his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, shews that he utterly dislikes pictures and images in churches ; and that he tore a veil which he found in a certain church, merely because it had the picture of a man on it :§ which epistle St. Jerome approves as genuine,|| and owns that he himself had translated it.¶ Therefore there is evidence sufficient that Epiphanius was not only against image-worship, but against the superstitious adorning of churches with pictures, which was then beginning to creep into use.

There are divers eminent Fathers produced against this new doctrine and practice of theirs, to which they give no satisfactory answer. For example, Gregory Nazianzen saith, “It is an evil thing to have faith in fading colours, and not in the heart.”** St. Chrysostom declares, “We enjoy the presence of the saints, not by their bodies, but by their writings, which are the images of their souls.”†† Amphilius affirms, that “the Christians took no care to draw the fleshly persons of the saints with colours on tablets, for they had no need of them, being to imitate their conversation by a virtuous life.”‡‡ In like manner Theodosius Ancyranus saith, “We have been taught, not to make the pictures of saints in material colours, but to imitate their virtues by those things which are writ of them, as being their living images, by which we are excited to a zeal like theirs. For let those who set up these figures tell

* Act. 6. p. 474. E.

† Epiph. contr. Haeres. l. 1. tom. 2. Hær. 27. [vol. 1. Colon. 1682]

‡ Id. l. 3. tom. 2. Hær. 79. [Ibid. p. 1058.]

§ Ejus Epist. ad Johan. Hieros. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 317. col. 2.]

|| Hieron. Apol. adv. Ruffin. tom. 2. p. 332. [vol. 2. p. 553. Veron.

1735.]

¶ Ibid. Epist. ad Pammach. 101. p. 572. [vol. 4. p. 303.]

** Act. 6. p. 479. B. †† Ibid. p. 482. A. ‡‡ Act. 6. p. 483. C.

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us what profit they get by them ; or into what spiritual contemplation they are let by them ; yea it is manifest it is a vain device, and an invention of the devil's craft."* To these plain testimonies they oppose many words, but little or no sense ; and for the last of them, they will not believe that Theodosius would call making images an invention of the devil ; though we have shewed that Epiphanius useth the very same phrase.

When they are pressed with a clear evidence out of Eusebius, against making or keeping the image of Christ's humanity,† they have nothing to reply, but that Eusebius was an Arian ; which charge is made out to be very false.‡ And if it were true, it doth not lessen his credit in a point that had no affinity with Arianism : he might give as true an account of the faith and practice of the Church about image-worship, as the most orthodox could do. But indeed Pope Adrian was so far from thinking him an Arian, that he quotes him against the Arian opinions.§ And this Council cites an history out of him for an apostolical tradition.|| The patriarch Germanus also took him for good evidence, when he cites him for images;¶ and so doth Pope Gregory.** Now though both of them cite him impertinently as to their point, yet it argues great partiality to allow a witness, when we think him on our side, and take exceptions at him, when we find he is against us ; and it would puzzle any man to give a good reason why Eusebius should be a good authority for images, and of no credit when he speaks against them.

We might here bring in many plain and full proofs out of divers other genuine Fathers, to shew, that for many ages there was no veneration given to images in the Christian Church : but that hath been done by other hands ; and our business is only to consider how this Council makes out this their pretended tradition ;†† and the very acts of it contain more solid and express testimonies against this opinion, than they can bring for it : yea, they who urge every comparison and hint of a genuine Father to promote their cause, will scarce allow either Scripture or Fathers on the other side. Legends shall pass there for truth, and here truth must pass

Ibid. p. 491. D.E.

† Ibid. p. 494. E. et 495. A.

‡ See Dr. Cave's Life of Eusebius, p. 31.

§ Adrian. Epist. ad Carol. Mag. p. 916. D. || Act. 6. p. 451. C.

¶ Act. 4. p. 315. B.

** Ep. Gregorii, p. 14. B.

†† V. Treatise of the Fallibility of the Church of Rome, c. 1, &c.

for legends : but an impartial eye may easily discern, they can neither defend their own evidence, nor yet answer the testimonies brought in by their adversaries.

CHAP. VII.

Of their weak Reasonings.

WHEN Pope Gregory was told by the Emperor, that he could find nothing in the first six Councils concerning the veneration of images, he thinks to come off by saying, “There is nothing in them about eating bread and drinking water;”* as if eating and drinking were a matter of religion, about which we might expect a Council should treat, as well as of the true way of worshipping God. If images had been used in every age since the Apostles, it is not probable there should be no mention of them in six General Councils called about the affairs of religion ; it would be as strange as never to meet with shields and spears in Livy or Cæsar’s Commentaries : so that not finding any thing about eating and drinking in the Councils, is not so strange by far, as to find nothing about images, because those were the proper places to treat of these things.

It was but reasonable in those that opposed images, to require the patrons of them to shew where the Old or New Testament taught any body to adore them ;† for in a point so immediately concerning the worship of God, his will revealed in Scripture ought to be our rule and guide ; and to devise a way of worship not taught us by God, is unlawful. The Nicene Fathers think to avoid proving their doctrine by Scripture, and render their adversaries odious, by “accursing those who will not receive a doctrine from Fathers, Councils, and Tradition, unless it be taught in Scripture, and pretending Arius, Nestorius, and other old heretics talked at this rate.” But they should consider, that no genuine Councils or Fathers did ever impose any article of faith, or way of worship, without good authority from holy Scripture, which is quoted both in the acts of the Councils, and in the writings of the Fathers. And if they had not Scripture to confute Arius and Nestorius,

* Epist. Greg. p. 10. D.

† Act. 1. p. 58. B.

&c. tradition alone would not have done it. Those ancient doctors never accursed any of these heretics for requiring proofs from Scripture, but yielded to that as a reasonable demand, and brought in Fathers only to shew, how the Church of old had expounded the Scripture by those points. But as for this Nicene Council, they can neither confute their adversaries by Scripture, nor yet by Councils, Fathers and Tradition, and were better at an anathema than an argument.

There is nothing more common with this assembly, than to bring in testimonies of painting any history of Scripture, or Church antiquity, upon the walls of any Christian temple, though it were merely for ornament and instruction of the illiterate; and thence to infer, that the ancients did, or we ought to venerate and adore them. But surely the modern Romanists will not allow all those to be (as they call themselves) good Catholics, who adorn their churches with Scripture histories; for divers Protestants do so, and yet utterly deny adoring these pictures. Perhaps it will be said, this was to confute their adversaries, who defaced pictures and images. To which I answer, that they should then only have applied these testimonies against defacing and breaking them, and not put more into the conclusion than was in the premises, and from these places urge adoration. And besides, it will not follow that it was lawful to adorn churches with images and pictures, when the people did begin to adore them superstitiously, because it was lawful to do so, when this superstition was not used; for it was very lawful to keep the brazen serpent whole, so long as it only served for a memorial of the miracle: but it was necessary and pious to break it, when once the people began to adore it: so that the increase of superstition justified the breaking and defacing such images and pictures, which were innocent enough in their first design, and otherwise might have been retained.

Leontius Cyprus is brought in by the Pope's legates arguing for the veneration of images; but alas! his arguments will not abide examining: for the cherubims in the tabernacle being made by God's special order, and forbid to be adored by his express command, will not prove that images of Christ and the saints, not made by God's direction, are allowed to be adored;* since the commandment stands still in force against making the likeness of any thing to worship or

* Act. 4. p. 235. D.

bow down to it. Again, since they counted their images religious things, and used them in their religious worship, it is very impertinent to justify this kind of adoration, by children's affectionate kisses given to their absent father's staff, or chair, or his coat ;* and to think to defend it, by parents kissing their children, or children saluting their parents, or subjects bowing to their prince ; for these are only marks of civil love or respect,† and differ vastly from that religious veneration which he would establish ; and he would have us pay this veneration for Christ's sake, not only to the cross, but also to his tomb, to his manger, yea, to Bethlehem, Sion, Nazareth and Jordan ; and to all places which he walked or sate on, and touched.‡ And why not to any other tomb or manger, if we cannot come at, or find those ; to any other town, if those be demolished ; or to any other river, since that water which Christ touched, is run away long since ; if it be but done for Christ's sake, it is well enough. At this rate nobody can tell where this gross and ridiculous superstition will stop. But after all, he seems to like images better than those things, and argues, that we ought to worship them, because God works miracles by them.§ I reply, that according to Germanus and Terasius, this reason was out of doors long before this Nicene Council, since (say they) such miracles were then ceased. And yet supposing it were true, that ever God had wrought any miracles by images, it will not follow from thence, that they are to be worshipped. For we do not find that any did ever worship the bough that made the iron swim, the pool of Bethesda, the clay and spittle, nor the shadow of Peter ; and yet by all these, real miracles were wrought.|| The rest of his arguments are the same that the Pagans used to excuse their idolatry, when accused by the primitive Fathers. He saith, "They do not worship the wood or stone, silver or gold, but those that are represented, to the remembrance of whom these visible signs raise their minds."¶ And in this very Council a heathen argues at the same rate, and says, "When we embrace images, we do not adore them, but serve the incorporeal powers which they represent."** So that these men have only changed the images, but worship God the very same way that Pagans did, even by corporeal representations, which the ancient Fathers thought to be idolatry. But

* Ibid. p. 238. A.

† Ibid. D. E.

‡ Ibid. p. 239. D.

§ Act. 4. p. 239. D.

|| V. Treatise of Fallibility, c. 1. p. 17, &c.

¶ Act. 4. p. 244. B.

** Act. 5. p. 354. A.

this author brags, “that he would offer adoration and worship to the Creator and Lord of all only, by the heaven, the earth, and the sea, by wood and stones, by relics and temples, by the cross, by angels and men, and by every creature visible and invisible.”* So that those heathens, who believed (as some of them did), one only supreme God, were not to blame, when they offered adoration to him by stocks and stones, by the host of heaven, yea, by dogs and crocodiles. It must be a very bad cause, which hampers us so, that we cannot excuse Christians from idolatry, but by justifying the heathen way of worship ; yet this writer is the best arguer that the whole Council produces on their side. No argument is more frequently urged than the comparison between the image of Christ, and that of the Emperor : for (say they), “as the honour or affronts done to the emperor’s image are esteemed honours or affronts to the emperor himself; so the respect or dishonour offered to the image of Christ, is to be esteemed a respecting or dishonouring Christ himself.”† But this is easily answered ; for the case is widely different : the Emperor is a mortal man, and many of his subjects never did or can see him, and so he needs an image to represent him, being absent : but God is every where present, and Jesus is with us to the end of the world : and their own author here confesses, “it is only when the king is absent, that we honour his image for him ; but when he is present, it is superfluous to desert the original, and adore the copy.”‡ From whence I infer, that to worship an image of Christ is to deny his omnipresence, and is as ridiculous as to bow or talk to the king’s image, when he both sees and hears you, and when you are bid to direct your addresses to himself. Besides, we do not see any that bow or kneel to the king’s statue or picture, much less that offer up any petitions or praises to such dead figures ; and if any did so, they would be thought distracted ; yet these are the honours that Romanists do to images of Christ, and the saints. It is sufficient respect to our prince’s picture, if we do no affront to it ; and thus far Protestants will go, when there is no peril of idolatry. But let us suppose, that an emperor finding his people so absurd, that few of them came to his court, or paid respect immediately to his person, but run up and down to his images or pictures, and bowed to them ;

* Act. 4. p. 239. E.

‡ Ibid. p. 247. E.

† Act. 4. p. 247. E. et 250. A. et alibi.

yea, called them by his name, made speeches and petitions to them, as if they were addressing to him ; and upon this should make a law, that no man should make any image or picture of him, with intent to bow down to it, or give it honour : then such as made or adored his image, though under pretence of respect to him, would really affront him, by breaking his express law : and if there were no other way to reclaim the people from this madness, it were allowable for the friends of the emperor, to take away the figures, and send their fellow-subjects directly to the emperor, as he himself required. And this is the case of our Lord Jesus and his images. There is a law in force against this adoration, and divers commands to come directly to him, and to God by him ; so that now it is not honour but disobedience and contempt, to follow our devised way of worshipping him, and despise his directions and his law.

The great maintainers of this worship would prove it no idolatry, by this notable maxim, "That in every thing we must not look at the fact that is done, but at the intention of him that does it."* Now the worshippers of images, they say, do not intend to commit idolatry : I reply, the heathens when they bowed down to their idols, and offered incense, prayers and gifts to them (as some Christians do to images), did not intend either to worship a false god, or to commit idolatry ; and yet God calls and counts them idolaters, and such no doubt they were. And if we apply this maxim to other sins, Noah did not intend to be drunk, nor Lot to commit incest. Those who went out with Absalom, in the simplicity of their heart, did not intend to be rebels, nor Ahab to kill Naboth. Yea Pilate himself seems to have no design to condemn our Saviour : but can any man say all these were innocent ? There are but few sinners in the world, if none be guilty but they who before-hand intend to do some great sin : if we go voluntarily into ill company, and drink by their rules, though we did not design to be drunk, yet we may be guilty of intemperance. The primitive martyrs (had they known of this device) need not have died, rather than have offered incense to the emperor's image, or to those of his gods : for if their intention had been to honour the true God that way, they might have saved their lives, and by this doctrine might have been very innocent : but the maxim is extremely misapplied

* Act. 4. p. 283. E. et ibid. p. 311. A.

by these image-worshippers, for since God hath forbid that way of worship, no intention of ours can annul that law, or give us license to break it.

Another argument which is often repeated for the adoration of images is, “That pictures set out the actions of Christ, or his saints, as well as writings or discourses;” and though the Apostle saith, “faith comes by hearing,” one of these says, it comes as well by “seeing;” so that he fancies heretics, who denied the reality of Christ’s body, might be convinced by images, and the dullest souls raised by them unto spiritual contemplation.* In answer to which it must be noted, that no pictures can set out the words of Christ; and these are the most heavenly part of the Gospel, and the most useful to us who do believe: and since St. Paul affirms, that “faith comes by hearing” these words; it is very saucy for these men to contradict him, or to pretend to find out as good a means as that which the Holy Ghost assigns. And it is ridiculous to expect, that an image of Christ should make a heretic believe Christ’s humanity was real, if he disbelieve the plain words of the four Evangelists: nor can an image, which only represents our Saviour’s meanest and mortal part, raise up the mind to spiritual contemplation, because it cannot set out his divinity, nor his present glorified estate: and experience teaches us, that none have grosser and meaner thoughts of Christ, than such whose minds dwell on his figure in a senseless image. Yet after all, supposing an image did set out the acts of Christ, as well as the holy Scripture, it doth not follow we should adore the image, because we do not adore the very Gospels themselves; nor did God ever command us to worship them: if this supposition were true, it would only prove the historical use of images, which we do not deny: but when we consider, that God chose writing as the better way to convey to us the knowledge of Christ’s actions, and neither used nor directed images or pictures; it is next to blasphemy to affirm, that a way invented by man (or perhaps by Satan), is as good as that which God himself did choose. And it is most horrid to Christian ears, to hear these daring men prefer images before the sacred oracles of God, when they say, “If it be pious to adore the Scripture, it is much more necessary to adore the things there spoken of, when we see them in an image or picture.”†

* Act. 4. p. 303. D. et ibid. p. 306. A. B. et alibi.

† Act. 6. p. 542. A.

Again, the Patriarch Germanus argues, “That if the Christians at that time should cast away their images, the enemies of their religion would say, they had been thus long in an error, and plead, that such as were once deceived, could not be trusted afterwards :”* Which is a rare argument why no man should forsake any error that he had once embraced : and this was the great reason, why the Roman Church at Trent would not reform any practices, nor rectify any errors, though complained of by her own members, and by divers bishops in that assembly, lest they should wound their pretended infallibility ; choosing rather to err always, than to be thought capable of being once mistaken. Arnobius tells us the very same thing was the main hindrance of the Pagan conversion : “That they resolved to defend their most unreasonable actions, lest they should be thought ever to have been ignorant ; and they counted it more glory not to be overcome, than to yield to the most manifest truth.”† But is this a thing for the disciples of the humble Jesus to glory in ? Would it not be more for the credit of their religion, to reform the abuses which superstition had brought in, than to resolve to keep them right or wrong ? And were not Jews and Saracens (who in the very acts of this Council, pinch them very close with arguments) more like to censure them for obstinacy, and for standing in an error which they could not defend, than for inconstancy, when they embraced a manifest truth ? Besides, it was not the whole Christian Church who had thus erred, the greater part of them by far (in Germanus’s time, and long after), held the contrary opinion. Yea, the obstinacy of image-worshippers made a schism, which was more likely to open the mouths of adversaries. To conclude, their adversaries might read in histories, and other authors, that the primitive Christians had no images at all ; and they must needs know, that the adoration of them was never defined before : so that if they did not censure them for inconstancy, it was more like to be for their altering from primitive practice, and for establishing a new doctrine after the Gospel had been preached for near 800 years.

One of the arguers for image-worship, takes upon him to reprove an heathen, for making images of incorporeal beings. The Pagan asks him, why the Christians made pictures of angels, and worshipped them, since they were incorporeal beings ? Which was the same thing that the heathen did, who

* Act. 4. p. 314. C. D.

† Arnob. advers. Gent. lib. 6. p. 197.

by statues worshipped those deities which they had in honour ; and adds, that he thinks there is no absurdity either in their images of invisible things, or in those the Christians made : but the Christian disputant (being unwilling his worship and the Pagan's should seem to agree, and yet unable to refute the parallel) flies to this gross absurdity, to assert, "That the angels are really corporeal beings, and so are the souls of men also ;" * which falsehood passes in this learned Council without any remark, though the editor was so much ashamed of it, as to attempt to excuse it in the margin. Another of their authors is forced to turn a false accuser of the heathen, and say, "They honoured their images as gods." † Whereas in this very Council (as was noted) the heathens utterly deny this, and solemnly affirm, they only worshipped those incorporeal beings which the images represented, and therefore they came off as well as these, who say, "They do not make the image of Christ, to worship the image itself, but that the mind by seeing it, may fly to things above :" ‡ so that either both of them are criminals or neither, for both have the same excuse.

In the next action, the opposers of image-worship, observing the growth of superstition, say, "They were not able to see the Church of the faithful deceived, by the policy of the devil." § Now though it be plain, they could not mean this of the whole catholic Church, since a great part of it was then assembled to condemn image-worship ; yet this Nicene Council runs out into an impertinent harangue, to prove that the whole catholic Church cannot be deceived by the devil ; which we easily and freely grant : but when we remember what great numbers of bishops were in some Arian Councils, we know the promises to the whole Church are no security to this Nicene Council, or their numerous party ; nor will they prove, that they have not been deceived by the devil. The like may be observed of that learned orator's flourishes in the oration at the end of this Council ; who says, "If idolatry could be brought in again, the devil would be too strong for Christ, and it would bring into question, whether Christ had overcome the world, or God were omnipotent : and if our Saviour's patients could relapse, he would be no good physician of souls :" || which argument runs upon the same mistake ; this corrupt limb supposes itself to be the whole body, and thinks if they erred, the whole Church must needs fail.

* Act. 5. p. 354. D. E.

† Ibid. p. 375. E.

‡ Ibid. D.

§ Act. 6. p. 515. A. &c.

|| Act. 8. p. 619, 620.

At this rate we might prove no Church, nor part of a Church, could ever fall into schism or heresy, after they had been once catholic. Yea, that no private man once redeemed and baptized, could fall into any sin, without bringing the efficacy of Christ's merits and God's omnipotence into question. And the argument supposes, that men once redeemed and regenerate, are not left with any liberty of will, nor so much as any power to fall off; and that God uses his omnipotence to preserve men and churches from heresy or sin.

Finally, after all these learned arguments for giving worship to images, they cannot tell what kind of worship it is that we ought to give them: for they account "those to be very foolish, who say, it is sufficient to have images for helping the memory, and not for worship."* Which passage the Pope's legates should not have consented to, since it gives the name of fool to Gregory the Great: who saith, "Images are placed in churches, not to be adored, but to instruct the ignorant."† And a great, as well as ancient author tells us, "The holy Fathers had pictures and images of the saints; but it was only for history and helping memory, not for worship."‡ But it seems they were fools also: for that there is more use to be made of images than so, these new doctors say: "We must salute and embrace them for their honour, and give them due worship; we may call it salutation or adoration, which we please; for they are all one:"§ yea, we may call it either kissing or adoring, for they are both one; and (they say), "whatever we kiss, that we adore."|| And this they prove by many instances of Scriptures, where kissing is mentioned as an expression of civil respect: however, we must not give "the worship of *latrīa* to images, nor worship the picture of Christ, or his mother, with that worship which is in spirit and truth."¶ And yet elsewhere they tell us, "He that adores an image, adores in it the subsistence that it represents."** And that the worship given to the image, is referred to the principal."†† Now then since Christ is the principal, and is to be worshipped with *latrīa*, and in spirit and in truth; and it is his subsistence which they adore in the image: and all the

* Act. 6. p. 542. B.

† Greg. Mag. lib. 9. ep. 9. [Lib. 11. Ind. 4. Ep. 9. vol. 2. p. 1100. Par. 1705.]

‡ Agobard. lib. de Imag. sect. 32.

§ Act. 6. p. 539. C.

|| Act. 7. p. 582. E.

¶ Act. 5. p. 539. D.

** Act. 7. p. 555. E.

†† Act. 6. p. 503. D.

worship given to the image, is directed to Christ : why should not they worship Christ's image with *latrīa*, and in spirit and truth ? Aquinas affirms, that the image of Christ ought to be worshipped with the same worship, that he who is represented by it, is worshipped with ; and it necessarily follows from their premises, though they would deny the conclusion. But let them declare, whether they worship Christ or the image ; if it be Christ, civil respect, kissing and bowing, which are expressions of honour to men, are too low and mean for him ; if it be the image, religious worship is (by their own confession) too high and excellent for it : if they say they worship both together, I ask, how can they at the same time mix two such different things, as civil respect and religious worship ? This would puzzle the acutest logician, and is far above the capacity of the common people. Again, it must be inquired, where this adoration shall terminate ? If on Christ, how dare they deny to give him religious and spiritual worship ? If it terminate on the image (as one would think they mean, when they bring in proofs from examples of men's kissing and bowing to one another, and will not allow it to be *latrīa*), then their adversaries have no great contest with them : for if there were no danger of superstition and idolatry, they could give these outward marks of respect to a picture of Christ ; and if they avoid it, the reason is, the avoiding scandal and peril of idolatry. But this will not please these Nicene Fathers : for there is something more due to the person of Christ, which is represented, than bare civil respects : so that something they would have, but they know not what it is, nor what name to call it by : if we call it kissing and saluting, that a prince may give to his subjects, and yet none will say he adores them : if we call it worshipping and adoring, these words are applied to the highest honour we can give to God ; and therefore there is some honour due to images, but there is no proper name for it ; the very patrons of it know not what to make of it, and therefore we may justly reject it as an unintelligible and unpracticable thing.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Authority and Credit of this Council.

ALTHOUGH the Pope's legates sat in this Council, and the Pope himself confirmed it, and though it usurped the name of

a General Council, and was so called at Rome ; yet the authority of that See was not sufficient in that and the next age, to keep it from being rejected and condemned in many parts of the Christian world. For in the East, though Constantine the Emperor, while he was under the tuition of his mother Irene, had confirmed it, yet (as Platina tells us) being come to reign alone, “ He soon after abrogated the constitution of the second Nicene Council for adoring images.” * And in the West, the Emperor Charles the Great called a Council of three hundred of his bishops at Frankfort, anno 794, who expressly condemned this Nicene Synod, as to their decrees about images ; and he also (by advice of those bishops) wrote a book to confute the arguments there urged, as we will now fully prove.

First, as to the Council of Frankfort, that it did reject and condemn the Nicene Synod, as to image-worship, is learnedly proved by Jacobus Sirmondus,† who declares, that Baronius and Bellarmine do both confess this to be true.‡ And though Binius had very fraudulently suppressed the canons of Frankfort, because one of them is expressly against images, yet Labb   out of Sirmondus hath now printed these canons.§ And Cassander affirms, “ That although the Pope’s legates were at Frankfort, yet by the unanimous consent of the Fathers, that Greek Synod, so far as concerned the adoration of images, was rejected and condemned, as not only contrary to Scripture, and the tradition of the Fathers, but also to the custom of the Roman Church ; which condemnation (saith he) is inserted into the capitulars of that Synod.”|| Now these learned Romanists are much more to be credited in a matter which makes against the interest of their Church, than Surius and Binius, who, merely to flatter their own party, do vainly attempt to prove, that this Synod did not condemn image-worship. But their arguments are frivolous, and their authorities either such partial modern authors, as Alanus, Sanders, Vasquius, and Suarez; or else some mistaken writers, who wrote in the age before ; such as Platina, A  mylius, and Nauclerus, who were so ignorant, that they thought Felix (whose heresy about the natures and adoption of Christ was

* Platina in vit. Adrian. p. 121. [p. 148. Lond. 1685.] V. Spanhem. sect. 7. p. 448, &c.

† Concil. ut supr. tom. 7. p. 1054. D. &c.

‡ Ibid. p. 1070. B. § Ibid. p. 1057. C. &c.

|| Cassand. Consult. Artic. 21. p. 592.

here condemned*) had maintained the taking away of images ; and that the Council of Frankfort condemned him for that opinion : unless we can excuse them, by saying, they were unwilling to declare, that the doctrine of image-worship (which the Roman Church in their time had received) was condemned in so eminent a Council as that of Frankfort. However, the mistakes and blunders of a few ignorant or zealous writers of the last century cannot weigh down those clear testimonies of ancient and authentic authors ; some of them living near the time of this Council : who all affirm, that the Nicene Synod, which enjoined the adoration of images, was condemned at Frankfort ; which we will now prove, to shew the impudence of Surius and Binius, who pretend, that the Magdeburgenses, or innovators (as they call them), invented this canon ; the words of which, as their own writers Sirmondus and Labb  relate them, are these :

Concil. Frankfort, Can. 2. "There was produced a question about that new Synod, which they had held at Constantinople ; in which it was written, that they should be anathematized who did not give worship and adoration to the images of saints, and of the divine Trinity ; upon which our most holy Fathers, rejecting this worship and adoration, upon all accounts despised and condemned it."†

To confirm which canon, Sirmondus cites Eginhartus, a writer who lived at that time ; and affirms, "That the Synod, which a few years before was gathered at Constantinople, under Irene and Constantine her son, and was by them called not only the seventh, but a General Council, was rejected of all."‡

It is a poor shift of our adversaries to say, that the canon and history both are meant of the Constantinopolitan Synod for demolishing images : for that Synod was held above thirty years before, and was under Constantine Copronymus,§ and so could not be called the new synod of the Greeks, under Constantine and Irene : besides the canon saith expressly, it was called to establish the adoration of images. So that though they name Constantinople, because this Synod first met there, and removed to Nice, and finally adjourned thither from Nice, to get its decrees confirmed ; yet they can mean no other but the Council of Nice, held but about seven years before this of Frankfort ; which being observed, we proceed to other authorities.

* Concil. tom. 7. p. 1074. B. C.

† Concil. tom. 7. p. 1057. E.

‡ Ibid. p. 1066. D.

§ V. Spanhem. sect. 7. p. 453.

Hincmarus,* archbishop of Rheims, saith, "In the time of Charles the Great, by order of the Apostolic See, and at the summons of the Emperor, a General Synod was called in France; where, according to the path of Scripture, and the tradition of the ancients, the false Synod of the Greeks was destroyed, and utterly made void.—So that by the authority of this Council, the veneration of images was somewhat checked."† Regino tells us, "That false Synod which the Greeks had made for adoring images, was rejected by the bishops."‡ Another ancient Chronicle saith, "The Synod, which a few years before was gathered at Constantinople, under Irene and Constantine her son, which they called the seventh, and a General Council, was made void and rejected by all: so that it should neither be counted the seventh, nor any Council at all."§ To which may be added the words of Aventinus; who declares, that "in the Council of Frankfort, under Charles the Great, the decrees of the Greeks for adoring images were rejected."|| The like account is given of this matter by our old English monks, who cannot be suspected of partiality; and they say, "Charles, king of France, sent a Synodical Book into Britain, directed to him from Constantinople; in which book, alas! finding many things inconvenient, and contrary to the true faith; especially, that it was confirmed by the suffrage of no less than 300 bishops, and most of the Eastern doctors, that we ought to adore images; which thing the Church of God holds accursed." Albinus (otherwise called Alcuinus) wrote an epistle against it, wonderfully confirmed by the authority of the divine Scripture, and carried that epistle with the book, in the name of our bishops and princes, to the king of France.¶

Moreover, there was a book written either by Charles the Great, or by some of his bishops in his name, to confute the Council of Nice; which book is proved to be genuine by Simeon, who found it in an old manuscript, and saith, "all men now own it to be authentic."*** Hincmarus declares, he

* Ann. 846. V. Treatise of the Fallibility of the Church of Rome, p. 45, and Pref. 7, 8.

† Hincmar. Rhem. contr. Laud. c. 20. apud Goldast. p. 82.

‡ Chron. Regin. An. 794.

§ Chron. Abb. Ursperg. An. 793. p. 187.

|| Avent. Annal. Boiar. lib. 4. p. 253.

¶ Rog. Hoveden. p. 232. Simeon Dunelm. p. 111. Spanhem. p. 453, &c. *** Conc. tom. 7. p. 1066. C.

had often seen and read it in the palace.* Eccius cites it in his Enchiridion, and Aug. Steuchus saith, “it was extant at Rome in the Lateran palace.”† And those objections which Pope Adrian answers, were taken out of this book of Charles the Great. There was also another book of his son Lewis, mentioned by Hincmarus; who saith, “That though the Synod at Frankfort had given some check to the veneration of images, yet Adrian, and other Popes, persisted in that opinion; and after the death of Charles, more fiercely promoted the worship of their puppets.”‡ So that Lewis the son of Charles, wrote a sharper book against the worship of images, than his father had done.” And he adds, “Adrian also answered this book of Lewis, and excused the matter; replying after his own fancy, and not what he ought to have said; for some of the things he urged, are such as (setting aside his Pontifical power) have neither truth nor authority to bear them out.”§ The same Lewis the Godly sent Jeremy, bishop of Sencons, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans, in an embassy to Eugenius, with divers collections against the adoration of images, charging them “to dispute this matter patiently and modestly with the Pope, lest by violent opposition, they should drive him into an incurable obstinacy.” And a little after he directs what to do, “in case the Roman obstinacy should bring this embassy to prove fruitless.”|| And though after this the Roman Church openly abetted this new doctrine of adoring images, the Gallican and German Churches did not think Rome so infallible as to receive it upon the Pope’s credit: for about the same time, Claudio Taurinensis argued thus against that doctrine, “If the images of the Apostles be to be invoked, why did they not suffer themselves to be prayed to in their life-time? If ye therefore worship a cross, because Christ hung on such a piece of wood; why do ye not worship all virgins at this day, since Mary, who bore Christ, was a virgin? And why do ye not fall down and adore the mangers of asses and oxen, and such like swaddling clothes as Christ was wrapped in? Why do ye not offer incense, and make vows to boats and ships, since he passed over the sea in such kind of vessels.”¶ A little after, Agobardus, the famous

* Hincmar. cont. Laud. c. 20.

† Wolf. Mem. Lect. tom. 1. p. 206. ‡ Suarum pupparum cultum.

§ Hincmar. apud Goldast. ut supr. p. 83, et 750.

|| Capit. edit. Baluz. tom. 1. An. 824. p. 643.

¶ Claudio Taur. ap. Wolf. Mem. Lect. tom. 1. p. 215.

bishop of Lyons, wrote a tract against images, lately published with the approbation of the doctors of the Sorbonne.* Wherein he affirms, "that visible things hinder our minds from apprehending things invisible; † that worshippers of images are not only sacrilegious in giving divine honour to the work of their own hands, but foolish to attribute holiness to a dead thing, and sanctification (which only comes from God's word, as the Apostle saith) to a speechless image."‡ If they object, "They do not adore the image, as believing any divinity in it, but for the honour of him whose image it is;" he answers, "If it be not a god, it is not to be worshipped in honour of the saints, for they do not arrogate this divine honour to themselves. And after the persecutions ceased, they only painted the cross without any human figure, Providence ordering it so, lest if such as had left the worship of devils, had been commanded to worship the images of the saints, it should be thought they had not left their idolatry, but only changed their images."§ He adds, "That the images of Christ and the Apostles mentioned in Eusebius, were kept only for love and memory, not (as the heathens used) for any religious honour or worship.|| And if Hezekiah be commended for breaking the brazen serpent, when the people began to worship it as an idol, though it was made by God's command; it would be more pious to break and grind to powder all the images of the saints, and the saints themselves would be pleased at it, since they dislike to be worshipped as idols, and to have God dishonoured under pretence of honouring them."¶ And this may be the better done, because God never commanded the making of these images, but men invented them.¶ "And he thinks we should rather adore the works of God's hands, than of men's, and therefore it were more fit to worship living than painted men."** Again, "He that worships a picture or image, doth not offer any service to God, or honour to angels or saints, but he worships the image itself. And the crafty enemy of mankind is labouring to bring idolatry in again, under pretence of honouring the saints; and that he may again be adored under divers forms, to avert our minds from God, and draw us down to carnal things.†† He tells us,

* Agobardus edit. Paris. Ann. 1666.

† Ibid. tom. 1. de Imag. sect. 15. p. 242.

‡ Ibid. sect. 17. p. 244.

§ Ibid. sect. 9. p. 247, 248.

|| Ibid. sect. 20. p. 248.

¶ Ibid. sect. 23. p. 254.

** Ibid. sect. 28. p. 262.

†† Ibid. sect. 31. p. 264, 265.

the ancients had pictures only for history and memory, not for worship ; for no ancient catholic ever said they were to be worshipped or adored.* To place our hope in them, is for want of faith in the heart ; and it is not more ridiculous to expect corn and wine, fish and venison from painted fields and vineyards, seas and forests, than to hope for help from the pictures of angels, apostles, and martyrs, which can neither do good nor evil : to avoid which superstition, the Fathers rightly defined there should be no pictures in the church.”† Yet when they were used, the error was not then sprung up, that pictures should be called holy, and be ordered to be adored.‡ And if any now would excuse it by saying, they adore the saints, and not their images, this craft will not profit them ; since God declares, he “will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to carved images.”§

In this manner doth this great man argue against both the Pope and his General Council ; and there is more of argument in this one little tract, than can be found in all that voluminous Nicene Council.

Therefore it is no wonder, that Anastasius, the translator of this Co. neil, about thirty years after Agobardus’s death, confesses, “that divers of the French did not believe the doctrine of image-worship, nor was it yet revealed to them what profit came by images ; for they affirmed that nothing made by men’s hands ought to be adored.”|| Which coming from a flatterer of the Pope’s, is good evidence, that image-worship was not received in France, no not near the end of the ninth century. In the twelfth century, when the emperor Frederick Barbarossa went against the Saracens, the Armenian Christians took the Germans for their friends, because the adoration of images was forbid in their worship, as it was also among them.¶ About that time Durandus writ in the West ; who saith of the Church in his time, “we neither adore images, nor call them gods, nor put any trust in them ; for that were idolatry ; only we give a veneration to them, in remembrance of things done in former times.”** And again, “since neither man nor angels are to be adored, they are to blame, who, under pretence of religion, adore divers images, since it is unlawful to worship any thing made with hands, there being one only

* Ibid. sect. 32. p. 265.

† Ibid. sect. 33. p. 266.

‡ Ibid. sect. 34. p. 267.

§ Ibid. sect. 35. p. 267, &c.

|| Concil. tom. 7. p. 31. C.

¶ Nicetas vit. Isaaci Angeli, An. 1185.

** Durand. Rit. lib. 1. cap. 3.

image of God the Father, whom with the Father we ought to venerate and adore.”*

So that we may see it is now no new thing in Protestants to reject this pretended General Council, and the doctrine it attempts to establish; because it was rejected by all our fore-fathers for many hundred years, and had not been universally received, if ignorance and superstition had not overrun all these parts of the world.

As for the poor evasions which some late undertakers (such as Maimburg and Natalis Alexander) have made use of to avoid the charge brought against this Council of Nice, by Charles the Great and his Council of Frankfort, as if they had mistaken the sense of it, the reader may find them clearly detected and solidly confuted by Frid. Spanhemius, in his Historia Imaginum, published 1686.† And who after all confirm what some others before have denied, that the Council which was opposed and condemned by the Council of Frankfort, as a false, wicked, erroneous, and heretical synod, was this second Council of Nice, which is accounted the seventh General Council by the Church of Rome. That it was the same Council, I appeal to them, and what has been already proved; and that it was thus false and erroneous, I hope the former chapters have made good: and which also the Church of Rome at last must acknowledge, or else must forego many of its doctrines, which are therein exposed and contradicted, as I shall now proceed to shew.

CHAP. IX.

Of such passages in this Council, as do not agree with the present opinions of the Romanists.

AFTER all the zeal which those of Rome shew for this Council, and all the glorious titles they bestow upon it, I dare say they will not stand to all things declared by this General Council of theirs, no not though Pope Adrian’s legates were present at it, and he confirmed it.

For first, whereas they pretend the Bishop of Rome hath the sole power of summoning General Councils, and also of presiding in them, and of confirming all they do: yea, though the modern editors of this very Council affirm, “that Irene and

* Idem. ibid. lib. 4. in 4 part. Can.

† Sect. 7, 8. p. 483, &c.

her son wrote to Pope Adrian, that that synod might be called by his authority :”* the Council itself discourses otherwise ; and shews this Council was called by the imperial authority. The emperor and empress declare, that “they, with their subjects and prelates, had decreed there should be a General Council, and that they had sent a Sicilian bishop with their command for it to Pope Adrian.”† The patriarch Tarasius also desires, “the people to join with him in petitioning their majesties, that a General Council might be called.”‡ Yea, we are told that “the emperor and empress commanded a Council to be held in the metropolitan city of Nice.”§ And in the beginning of every act it is said, “the General Council gathered by God’s grace, and the religious command of their sacred majesties.”|| If it be objected, that the Pope’s consent was asked, I answer, that we are here told, “that (not only the Pope, but) all the rest of the patriarchs ought to consent to every lawful General Council :”¶ which doctrine will prove the assembly at Trent to have been no lawful General Council, because only one of the five patriarchs consented to it. Nor was the Pope esteemed the sole supreme orderer of all matters at this Council of Nice. For though his legates had the honour to be first named, as the Bishop of Rome had a primacy of order only, yet the Patriarch of Constantinople was desired to speak first.** And he was the great manager of all affairs in it ; yea, he is called the governor of this Council,†† even as his predecessor Anatolius is also called the governor of the fourth General Council.‡‡ And Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem, hath the same titles ;§§ intimating unto us, that all the patriarchs, as well as he of Rome, had a governing power in Councils. Finally, as to the confirmation of the decrees of this synod, that was had also from the imperial authority in the first place. For we are told, that this Council adjourned to Constantinople, where being met again, “the empress and her son presiding,||| they read over what they had done at Nice, and prayed them to sign and confirm these things with their pious subscriptions ;” which their imperial majesties accordingly did ;¶¶ and all this before it was sent to Pope Adrian.

* Præfat. ad Concil. 7. p. 6. D.

† Ibid. p. 33. A. 34. B.

‡ Ibid. p. 35. C.

§ Ibid. p. 39. B.

|| Act. 1. p. 39. C. et passim.

¶ Præfat. p. 38. D.

** Act. 1. p. 46. E.

†† Act. 8. p. 622. E.

‡‡ Act. 1. p. 86. E.

§§ Act. 3. p. 159. A.

||| Act. 8. p. 591. B.

¶¶ Act. 8. p. 594. B.

Secondly, they pretend that the Bishop of Rome was always accounted the sole universal pastor and bishop of the whole world. But the translator of this Council, Anastasius, confesseth, that these Fathers of Nice often call the patriarch of Constantinople, ‘universal bishop ;’* and that title is given to Tarasius very often in this Council : yea, in the old Latin copy, Pope Adrian himself calls him ‘universal patriarch ;’ which the fathers of Rome ridiculously excuse, by saying some Grecian had corrupted the Latin copy,† which was in the Pope’s own custody. And whereas Anastasius, in an addition to Adrian’s letter (which no doubt is of his own invention), makes that Pope gravely forbid the Greek Emperor to call Tarasius *universal* :‡ it is to be noted, there is not one word of that addition in the Greek, nor old Latin copy ; and so the matter of fact is false : but if it were true, that Adrian did forbid the use of that title, the Greeks constantly using it after that prohibition, shews how little they valued the authority of the Pope in those days, so that he gets nothing by this fiction. And by the way, we may note the impudence of this sycophant Anastasius, who was a mere creature of the Pope’s ; and in this letter of Pope Adrian’s, puts in this sentence into his translation (of which there is not one word in the Greek), “the Church of Rome, which is the head of all Churches :”§ nor doth the old Latin copy own any such words. Moreover that forged Latin addition of his is nothing but gross flattery ; for he makes Pope Adrian talk big of the “veneration that is to be given to the chief see by all the faithful in the world ; and of St. Peter’s being made the porter of heaven, and a prince over all ; from whose preaching all the world have received their doctrines ;”|| with much more such-like stuff : but it is enough to condemn this forgery, that the Greek original and old Latin version have nothing of this ; and therefore it was Anastasius’s own device to wheedle Pope John VIII. (to whom he dedicates this translation) out of some good preferment ; yet if Adrian had said all this, he were only a witness in his own cause, and so not to be trusted. I conclude this note with a warning to all readers of the Roman editions of Councils and Fathers, not to give credit to the great words they find in them concerning the Roman Church ; for we see by this example, that even in Anastasius’s time (who lived eight hundred

* Præfat. Anastas. p. 30. E.

† Act. 2. Vers. Lat. p. 700. B.

‡ Act. 2. p. 117. E. § Act. 2. p. 102. B. Vid. p. 692. D. || Act. 2.

years ago), and ever since, they have made no scruple to corrupt records for the exalting of that Church.

Thirdly, they are very positive at Rome now, that all their popes have been infallible; yet it is declared here, that Pope Honorius* was a Monothelite, and was condemned for that heresy by the sixth General Council, as the Roman editions of that Council yet shew. And again, in this which they call the seventh General Council, the same Honorius, bishop of Rome, is anathematized as a Monothelite by Tarasius,† by the patriarch of Jerusalem,‡ and by this whole Council of Nice.§ And afterwards they all renounce Honorius by name, among other heretics.|| The Pope's legates in the next page consenting to, and subscribing this condemnation.¶ And all these Fathers affirm in their synodical epistle to the emperor, that "they had anathematized the opinions of Arius, Macedonius, &c. and of Honorius, by their general consent, and the concurrence of the Holy Ghost."** From whence I thus argue, either Honorius was a heretic, and then he was not only fallible, but erred actually in a matter of faith; or if he was no heretic, then this General Council, and Pope Adrian who confirmed it, were not infallible: either way condemns their boast of infallibility.

As to other opinions and practices, we may observe, first, that the superstition about images was not come to that height, to which it arrived in after-ages: for Germanus the patriarch is here cited with approbation; and he declares, "they never made any figure of God, but only of Christ incarnate."†† And he affirms they did not give any worship to the saints, but only to God; for when they approached the image of a saint, they said no more than, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," mentioning the name of that particular saint.‡‡ Yea and afterwards, it seems there were no such direct prayers made to the images of Christ and the saints, as are now in use; for we are told that then they thus addressed to God before a saint's image, "Blessed be the God of this and all other saints, who hast given them patience, and made them worthy of thy kingdom; make us also partakers with them, and by their prayers save us. §§ And before the image of our Saviour they adored, and spiritually gave thanks to God the Lord of all, who vouchsafed

* V. Treatise of the Fallibility of the Church of Rome, Præf. p. 5, 6.

† Act. 3. p. 166. C. ‡ Ibid. 182. E. § Act. 6. p. 422. D.

|| Act. 7. p. 555. B. ¶ Ib. p. 551. A. ** Act. 7. p. 582. A.

†† Act. 4. p. 291. B. C. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 311. D.

§§ Act. 5. p. 355. D.

to take the form of a servant, and save the world, being made like to us, in all but sin.”* This was modest in comparison of their modern way of making direct prayers before these images, and sometimes even to them. It appears also, that they never used any ceremony of consecration to a cross in those days :† but now that and all other images must be hallowed with great solemnity.

Again, nothing is plainer from the words of this Council, than that the common people then received the cup in the eucharist : for the Patriarch Germanus affirms, that “ all the people of Christ, in the receiving of his most holy body and blood (by which according to his appointment, is celebrated the memory of his death and his resurrection), are filled with more earnest and vigorous desires thereby, than the hart hath after the water-brooks.”‡ Which epistle is highly applauded by the whole Council, and consented to as very orthodox by the Pope’s legates ;§ and indeed this was the practice at Rome then : but they of the Church of Rome have since abrogated our Lord’s own institution and practice, by a *non obstante*, and have also rejected what is approved in this their own dear General Council.

Besides, these holy Fathers differ from the Church of Rome in a point of faith : for in their Creed, agreed on by general consent, they affirm, that “ the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father.”|| To conceal which difference in both the Latin versions, they have corrupted the place, and put in these words, “ And from the Son ;”¶ and the editors let it go so, though Labbe doth confess in the margin, that an ancient manuscript wants these words, “ and from the Son :” and if we may give credit to Baronius, this addition was first made to the old Creed in a Council at Toledo, by the direction of the Roman Bishop.** And yet the Roman Creed (as he saith) was not altered till the time of Pope Benedict VII. A.D. 1112. And then they began to put in these words into all Creeds, to make them agree with that at Rome : so faithful are they in preserving the most sacred records of antiquity.

The eighty-second canon of the sixth General Council, which allows the making an image of Christ in human form, is cited by Pope Adrian with this declaration, that he receives

* Ibid. E. † Act. 6. p. 454. C. ‡ Act. 4. p. 314. A.

§ Act. 4. p. 323. A. || Ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον.

¶ Act. 7. p. 554. D.

** Baron. Annal. An. 447. [vol. 7. p. 609. Luc. 1741.]

those canons as lawfully and divinely established, and calls this a testimony of the orthodox faith :* yea, the whole Council cite the same, as a canon made by the holy Fathers assembled by Divine Providence.† In another place it was called, “A canon of the sixth General Council, and was read before the Pope’s legates, and approved by all the Council of Nice.” Yea, Tarasius openly affirms, “it was a genuine canon of the sixth General Council, and that all who make objections against these canons, are sick of the disease of ignorance.”‡ But now Baronius and his echo Binius, reject all these canons as being spurious, and say, “they were made by a little Council falsely called the sixth, and are not approved ;”§ heaping up many frivolous arguments to weaken their credit: and if you ask why they damn these canons, which a Pope and a General Council had approved ? You must note, many of these canons condemn the opinions and practices of the modern Church of Rome, and therefore out they must go, right or wrong: for the thirteenth canon “condemns the custom of imposing single life upon priests and deacons at their ordinations, as they then did at Rome.” The nineteenth canon saith, “Scripture is to be interpreted (not by the Pope, but) by the writings of the Fathers, when any controversy doth arise.” The thirty-sixth canon confirms those old canons, “which give the See of Constantinople equal privilege with that of Rome.” And the fifty-fifth canon condemns the custom of the Roman Church, *viz.* “fasting on Saturdays, and renewing the old Apostolical canon, forbids all, and particularly those at Rome, to fast any more upon the Saturday.” These are severe blows given to the Roman church’s doctrine and rites, and therefore Baronius and Binius will rather lose a plausible testimony for images, than endure to allow of any canons that contradict their modern Church of Rome. And indeed those writers give a thousand instances of this partiality ; for they approve any thing on the slightest evidence which makes for the Roman Church, and will not allow the best attested passages, if they make against it ; that is the sole touchstone which these mercenary authors use, in allowing or condemning all Councils or ancient writings. But I must remark, that if these canons be not genuine, the Romanists

* Act. 2. p. 122. D. et 123. A.

† Act. 6. p. 406. D.

‡ Act. 4. p. 234. B. C. &c.

§ Tom. 6. Concil. in notis Binii ad Concil. Quini—Sext.

will not only lose this fine testimony for images, with which the Nicene Council was so well pleased; but they bring into question their dear infallibility, for they make a Pope and General Council to err, in the very proofs they bring for a point which they account *de fide*. Though I think Pope Adrian, and those at Nice, knew better how to judge of canons made not above one hundred years before, than these partial modern writers, who lived almost 900 years afterwards: so that I doubt not those canons are very authentic; and we may by them observe, that in those days Councils made no scruple to censure the errors and ill practices of Rome itself.

And there are some other matters of less moment, wherein this very Council of Nice did so, which I will briefly put together. Nothing is more ordinary with our modern Romanists, than to tell us, "the Church was founded on St. Peter, and that he is the rock spoken of, Matth. xvi." but Tarasius saith, "That the Church is founded upon Christ our Lord, who is the rock."* And the whole Council, in their letter to Pope Adrian (whom they call their brother and fellow minister), affirm, "Christ is that rock on which the Church was established, and that it is both built by him and on him."† Nor doth Germanus differ much from them, when he saith, "The true faith (that is in Christ) is the rock whereon the Church is built."‡ But there is not one word in these acts of St. Peter's being that rock. I know not how it will relish at Rome now, "that bishops are set over churches, and are not to meddle with affairs of state."§ And that bishops must not punish offenders as princes do, by confiscation, death, or banishment, but only by advising them to keep private, and to fast, in order to make them repent.|| And that if they used any violence, either to the faithful or unbelievers, they should be deposed.¶ They will not be pleased I fear with Anastasius, for discovering that the popes could not agree about the number of the Apostolical canons. So that when one pope had decreed in Council there was but fifty of them to be received, another declares they were all to be received.** It will sound oddly at Rome now, to hear Pope Adrian making his petition to the Emperor, "to restore unto him the consecration of those bishops and archbishops which were of his own

* In *Præfat.* p. 35. B.

† Act. 8. p. 627. C.

‡ Act. 4. p. 302. B.

§ Epist. Gregor. p. 18. C.

|| Epist. ejusd. 2. p. 26. E.

¶ Act. 3. p. 155. E. et 158. A.

** *Præfat.* Anast. p. 30. C.

diocese.”* For in these later ages he claims the whole world for his diocese, and challenges a right to consecrate, or to confirm, however, all the prelates in every nation. But times are altered since Anastasius invented that part of the epistle : had he lived in the age of Pope Hildebrand, he would not have been so careful with a marginal note to excuse the sixth canon of this pretended General Council, which orders, “that Ecclesiastical Synods shall be held once a year ; and if any prince hinders them, he shall be excommunicated.”† But lest in that age princes should take offence at this bold decree, Anastasius tells us in the margin, “this canon is not owned by the Church of Rome ; and divers other canons (he saith) are not in force there.” I am sure they own worse canons than this, at this day, in that Church ; and it is very strange, that canons made by a Pope and a General Council, should not be binding. I cannot see what need there is to assemble bishops in a General Council, and make canons, if after all, one Church may take and leave what it pleases, after it hath consented to them all. But this is the mode at Rome, after all their brags of Provincial and General Councils ; they make no scruple to reject them wholly, or receive some part of them, and reject the rest ; or allow them in one age, and condemn them in another, if they prove not for their present turn. To conclude, how great a difference is there between this Council and Pope Gregory I. In this Council Phocas is called “the dragon of the great deep, and a cruel tyrant, who had martyred the most mild and righteous Prince Mauritius.”‡ But because this bloody usurper had given the title of Universal Bishop to Rome, Pope Gregory set up his statue there, and pretends to rejoice extremely in his letter to him, “That his excellent piety was advanced to the imperial throne, and calls upon heaven and earth to rejoice at it ;” with much more such-like flattery.§

This may suffice to set out this famous Council, which first brought in the adoration of images, and to shew what reason we have to reject it, and that doctrine which it designed to establish.

* Act. 2. p. 117. C.

‡ Act. 4. p. 271.

† Act. 8. p. 602. B.

§ Gregor. lib. 11. Ep. 36.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF
THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF OF THEIR DOCTRINE CON-
CERNING THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES AND RELICS.

WERE I a member of the Church of Rome, and obliged to be a writer in defence of her doctrines or practices, there is no one subject I should be so willing to be excused from, as the defence of image-worship, and the worship of relics, out of the Scriptures; since there is nothing so much opposed there, as this practice of image-worship; and the main design of both the Testaments appears plainly to be this, to root idolatry wholly out of the world. Even before the writing of the holy Scripture, the Jews have a tradition, that the forbidding of idolatry was one, and the chief of those six precepts, as they are called, of Noah: but when the law itself was given, and the Scripture of the Old Testament penned, we find them continually bearing upon image-worship, forbidding, threatening, and punishing it ever and anon, and so severely too, that the Jews have, of a long time, been sufficiently cured of their itching after idolatry, so frequent from the beginning of their government under their judges and kings.

The command against idolatry so very strict in the Old Testament, and the denouncing judgments so very terrible against all offenders whatever; and the fearful examples of such punishments inflicted, might, one would think, justly have superseded any further care or provision against it in the New Testament: however, we find they did not: for advices against idolatry, and severe threatenings are frequent enough there; and we are assured that it was one great end of our blessed Saviour's coming into the world, to destroy the works of the devil, the chief of which, certainly, next to atheism, was the introducing, and fomenting of idolatry in the world.

But notwithstanding all these prohibitions, and threats, and punishments against image-worship, in both the Testaments, the Church of Rome, forgetting the advice St. Paul gave to Christians of his time* (advice that shews Christians might do what this Church hath done), hath fallen to image-worship; and is not only content to do it against Scripture, but to bring

* 1 Cor. x. 14.

in the Scriptures themselves, as vouchers for their image and creature-worship, and to make them declare for these things, which they are as fully and directly against, as murder, theft, or adultery itself.

It is my business at present to examine those texts which they pretend to produce in favour and defence of their present practice of worshipping images. Their number may well be expected to be very small; however, Bellarmine, to make as great a show with them as is possible, hath ranked them into three sorts of testimonies, which I will examine according to his own method.

The first sort is of those which speak expressly of images;* and of this there are but two. The first of which is in Exod. xxv. 18, concerning the two cherubims, “And thou shalt make two cherubims of gold: of beaten work shalt thou make them in the two ends of the mercy-seat.” The other is Numb. xxi. 8, about the brazen serpent, which God commanded Moses to make, and to set it upon a pole: that “every one that was bitten by the fiery serpents, might look upon it, and live.”

But how are these two places to the purpose? There is not one syllable in either place of their being made and appointed to be worshipped. We do not dispute with Bellarmine, or any one else, the command from God here, of making images for the purposes mentioned there; and the use or making of images is no part of the controversy, but the worshipping of them: and this is what we can neither find that God commanded, or the children of Israel practised here to the cherubims, and the brazen serpent: which thing Bellarmine himself was aware of, and therefore, as to the cherubims, he makes it his business to shuffle us off, with giving us (instead of a text which he undertakes there, and we require) his own bare affirmation, that the cherubims were necessarily adored by those that adored the ark. But here one mistake is built upon another, and we have several mistakes and inconsequences crowded together. For,

First, the ark itself was not adored by the Israelites, as I will sufficiently demonstrate, when I come to his text about the foot-stool; and therefore to retort his reasoning upon him, if the ark itself, over which God was pleased to meet his people, was not adored, much less were the cherubims, which represented only the attendants on that representative throne.

* Bellar. de Imag. l. 2. c. 12. [vol. 2. p. 446. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

But granting the ark was adored as representing God's presence among them, yet why must the cherubims be so too? Can we not adore God Almighty in heaven, without adoring the angels which stand about his throne? Or do we adore the angels in heaven, whenever we adore God there? If nobody pretends to affirm a thing so grossly absurd, why could not the Israelites worship the ark representing the presence of the invisible Majesty, without worshipping the cherubims which were only to represent the angels standing about the throne of God? The very design of them shews they were not to be worshipped, as well as the silence of the Scripture about appointing any worship to them, and the command of God of worshipping no manner of image.

But notwithstanding all this, several Romish writers will have it, that the Jews worshipped God towards the cherubims, and thereby worshipped the cherubims themselves; and the late Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford, was so over kind to the Romanists in this point, that he affirms downright,* that an outward worship was given to the cherubims.

Both these assertions are equally true and conclusive, and by this sort of arguing, any man may prove what he has a mind to. Let us suppose that the people were to worship God with their faces directed to the holy of holies, wherein the ark, with the cherubims upon it, were placed; or, to use these people's phrase, to worship towards the cherubims. If this proves that they did thereby worship the cherubims; then it follows as clearly, that when Christians prostrate themselves to God with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, they worship the heaven, and are as guilty of worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, as ever any Pagans were. It was just such wise arguing as this, by which the heathens were for proving the primitive Christians as much idolaters as themselves, and worshippers of the sun; because it was their custom to worship God towards the east; and though the heathens could not, for want of such nice piercing wits as these men are blessed with, yet these Popish writers could certainly have proved the thing upon them. The Christians did not deny that they worshipped the invisible Majesty of heaven towards the east, towards the rising sun; and these men would have shewed them, that giving worship towards, and worship to, were the same thing; so that since they

* Reasons for abrogating the Test, p. 130.

could not deny they paid their worship towards the sun or east, it was certain they paid their worship to the sun. But cannot such men as these distinguish between paying our adoration to an object of worship, and paying our worship to that object towards such a place? If they cannot, they are rather to be pitied than disputed with.

And as to the bishop's affirming downright, that an outward worship was given to the cherubims; though it deserves no better answer than to affirm that they had no outward worship given them, yet I have these reasons to confirm our denial with.

First, We have not one word of command, or intimation here, that God would have the cherubims worshipped; which had been absolutely necessary for any one's daring to pay any worship to them, since God had expressly commanded all the Jews in the second commandment not to bow down to, or worship any manner of image.

Secondly, The people could not worship them, since they were always invisible to them, and could not serve the true ends of images to represent after a visible manner invisible things to them; they were as invisible as any thing that could be represented by them, and therefore altogether useless to such purposes; and I suppose invisible images were no more in use then, than they are now.

Thirdly, These reasons together did so far satisfy as great a friend to images as ever the Church of Rome had; I mean their angelic doctor, Thomas Aquinas, that* he asserts, that the cherubims were neither placed in the tabernacle for representations of the invisible God, nor to have worship paid to them. And with him, others of their Church agree, whom it is not worth while to produce: what I have offered, is more than enough to shew that Bellarmine's first text is far from being able to prove that the cherubims were worshipped by the Jews in their service.

His second text is concerning the brazen serpent, Numb. xxi. 8, 9: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole; and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived."

* Aquin. prima 2dæ Qu. 102. Art. 4. n. 6. [vol. 21, p. 447. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

Now in answer to this passage, we have the very same question to put that was used before about the cherubims, and that is, where is there a syllable in this place, that either commands, or mentions the children of Israel's paying any worship to this brazen serpent, though erected for such great blessings to them? Bellarmine here is put to the very same shifts he was at before, and instead of producing Scripture to shew that the brazen serpent was worshipped: which is the thing he ought to have done; he gives this pleasant reason, that the brazen serpent must needs have been worshipped by the Israelites, because God had ordered it to be placed aloft, and it gave relief to those that looked upon it. And is not this very fine arguing? Especially in relation to those people who lay under such strict commands against all image-worship? One would think the second commandment, which utterly forbids any bowing down, or worshipping any image, had been a stronger reason to conclude the Israelites did not worship the brazen serpent, than the setting it aloft upon a pole could be that it was worshipped: and one would think that the perfect silence of the passage as to any worship paid, which is yet so careful to mention the cures done to the people by it, had been more likely to determine any wise man, that notwithstanding the benefits it was erected for, yet no worship was paid to it.

Such sort of reasoning and guessing is very unfit in any case, but far more in this, where men cannot be content with their images, but must undertake to produce Scripture for the worship of them: and Bellarmine had better have kept to his Councils of Nice and Trent, in defending image-worship, than to meddle with Scripture, and produce such places as this, which speak not one word of any worship either commanded or paid to the brazen serpent.

But though this wild reasoning was all that Bellarmine had to urge about this place, yet the author of the "Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel" can make more of it, and is very pert upon the Reformers; having put down the 8th verse of the 21st of Numbers, about the brazen serpent, which you will find above, he very gravely tells the reader, that "hence are evidently proved divers things against the Reformers: 1. That God commanded the making of this image:" and which of the Reformers ever denied this? "2. The setting it up for a sign:" and which of the Reformers denies this? "3. He promised that the lookers thereon should assuredly

receive succour and help." And have any of the Reformers denied this? This author must be owned for a man of zeal, but he wants both sense and modesty, and therefore busies himself about proving that which every body always granted, and which is nothing to the purpose: however, he advances, and intends to make something of it, and therefore sets down his fourth: "4. He warranted the making, the setting up, the beholding, and the reverencing thereof, to be exempted from the breach of the first (second say we) commandment." As for the warranting the making the brazen serpent, it is true; and for the setting it up, it is true; and for the beholding it, it is true; but for the warranting the reverencing of the brazen serpent, that is false; and I would fain know how reverencing crept in here: it is neither in the text, nor in any of his three propositions, out of which his fourth is drawn; the truth is, the man was forced to slip it in here, or else all he was about, had been nothing but impertinence: however, since the reverence is of this author's own putting in, and there is not the least countenance for it from the text, we have reason to conclude that there is no ground for image-worship from this passage concerning the brazen serpent.

But though we cannot grant to Bellarmine, and this little author, that there is any proof of a reverence to the brazen serpent from the texts alleged out of Numbers; yet I will grant to them, that afterwards it was worshipped: and had they produced, instead of Numb. xxi. 8, the second book of the Kings, chap. xviii. 4, they had gained their point, and we could not have had one word to oppose; for there it is said directly, that "unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it," to wit, the brazen serpent: but they were wise enough to see, that though the part of the verse which I have produced does make for them, yet all the rest of the verse was too point-blank against them.

I cannot but admire at the writers of the Church of Rome, that they dare venture at the business of the brazen serpent, and can make such work to prove that it was worshipped; would they but read that whole verse, surely they would be ashamed ever to urge against us the brazen serpent, since we find, that afterwards, when it came to be worshipped (which these people are so zealous to prove it was), that worship was counted downright idolatry; and good king Hezekiah's zeal is commended in this chapter, for his doing "that which was right in the eyes of the Lord;" and these are reckoned as

instances of it, that “ he removed the high places, and brake the images,* and cut down the groves, and *brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it*: and he called it Nehushtan.” And this I think is enough to their instance from the brazen serpent.

Bellarmino's second set of testimonies is of those which shew that “ some creatures are to be religiously honoured for their bare relation to God.” His first example is that which is generally urged by most of their writers in the Church of Rome, Psalm xcix. 5, where, in their vulgar Latin Bible the verse ends, “ *Et adorate scabellum pedum ejus,*” that is, “ and worship his foot-stool.” From which place they would prove that the ark of God, which they say is the foot-stool mentioned here, is commanded to be adored; but in answer to this, we are as able to shew that the ark is not meant here by the foot-stool, as that no adoration is commanded here to the foot-stool itself. That the earth is itself God's foot-stool, we need no better evidence than our Saviour's own words, who hath said it, Matth. v. 35, that “ the earth is his footstool;” and that by foot-stool in that verse of the Psalm, was meant some peculiar part of this globe of the earth, is apparent from the 9th verse of the Psalm; where the Psalmist, repeating the 5th verse again, puts **HOLY HILL** instead of **FOOT-STOOL**, from which it is evident, that by foot-stool, he meant Mount Zion, the holy hill, on which the temple stood, and not the ark.

And to demonstrate that no adoration was commanded to the foot-stool itself, our people need only look into their Bibles, where they will find that our English translation, which is exactly from the Hebrew itself, gives it them quite otherwise. “ And worship at his foot-stool, for he is holy;”† which is the same, as if David had said, “ Worship the Lord in his temple at Jerusalem;” and to convince our adversaries that the author of the vulgar translation meant the same, and no more than we do, we need only look into his translation of the 9th verse, “ *Et adorate in sancto monte ejus,*” that is, “ and worship him in his holy mount;” whereas, in the original Hebrew, the phrase is the very same in the 5th as in the 9th verse, and therefore we must allow him the same meaning in both places: which is no other certainly than what himself expresses in the 9th verse, of worshipping God in his holy hill, else we must

* 2 Kings xviii. 4.

† Psalm xcix. 5.

conclude, that not only the ark (which our adversaries contend for) was commanded to be adored, but the Mount Zion itself, which I think they are not for asserting. I think the Chaldee paraphrast hath given the best interpretation of the 5th verse of this Psalm, who, instead of making it to command an adoration of the foot-stool, hath very briefly explained it in these words, “and worship in the house of his sanctuary, for he is holy.” And this is sufficient to shew against their producing this text, that neither was the ark meant by the foot-stool, nor any worship intended or commanded to the foot-stool itself, but that the true and whole sense of the place is, that David advises to worship God in his temple upon Mount Zion.

The next text of this sort, which the Cardinal produces, is Matth. v. 34, 35 : “But I say unto you, Swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God’s throne ; nor by the earth, for it is his foot-stool.” It would have been a very difficult thing to guess how this place defends or proves the worship of images, had not Bellarmine been at some pains to clear the matter to us : he argues, that “in an oath, which is an act of religion, as God is primarily honoured by it, so is the thing itself secondarily honoured, by which we swear. Now,” says he, “God doth for this reason forbid the swearing by heaven or by earth without due circumstances, lest any dishonour should thereby be done to these creatures, which have a relation to God. But images have a like relation to God, and therefore are to be worshipped upon the same account.” This conclusion unriddles the whole matter, and is a very pleasant one : but I will examine how Bellarmine came by it, and what it is he grounds it upon. He first tells us, that “God forbids the swearing by heaven or earth without due circumstances ;” which is false, for Christ here did absolutely forbid the swearing at all by either of them. He next tells us that God forbade it, “lest those creatures should be dishonoured which have relation to God :” but this is as groundless ; for the true sense of the place is, that these were not to be appealed to in our oaths, because they were not to come into competition, or share with God in the honour of being that sole witness and judge to whom all men are bound to appeal in their oaths and vows. I do grant to Bellarmine, that these creatures are really dishonoured by being appealed to in men’s oaths, but I say such oaths are forbidden, not because of any disgrace or affront done to them thereby, but because of a dishonour done to God, by having these his creatures so infinitely below him appealed to

in such solemn acts of religion as oaths are. And this will quite spoil his extravagant conclusion : for if the heaven and earth are utterly excluded here (notwithstanding their relation to God) from having any honour done to them : how does Bellarmine conclude hence, that images are to be worshipped or honoured ? The ground of his conclusion was, that as the heaven and earth are honoured because of their relation to God, so images are upon the same account to be worshipped, that is, because of their relation to God. But his ground is sunk from under him ; and by shewing that no honour is permitted to earth or heaven in this text, we have effectually ruined his wild conclusion from it, that images are to be worshipped. But there is one thing I would be gladly informed in, before I leave this text and argument of Bellarmine, and that is, how images come to have (as Bellarmine says they have) a like relation to God, as heaven and earth have ? The relation of the heaven and earth to God, our Saviour tells us here, when he makes the one to be his throne, and the other his foot-stool : but wherein images have a relation to God, which are forbidden by God, I cannot divine. I am sure Bellarmine had been a great deal more in the right, if he had told us, that images have the same relation to man, that the heaven and earth have to God, since these are God's creatures ; but images are man's creatures, or, as the Scripture calls them, "the work of men's hands."

I must pass now to Bellarmine's third sort of testimonies for image-worship, who by this time is drawn very low ; these testimonies are to shew, that "some creatures are called sacred, or holy, because of their relation to holy things." But suppose this be allowed him, yet what is this to the worship of images ? Could he prove that images stand in such relation to God, as his house, or the utensils of it, or the passover, or the like, then he would argue nearer to the purpose. Or, could he shew that those things which are called holy, because of their relation to God, or his service, were thereby become objects of religious worship, and had adoration paid to them ; this would have been a very good help towards the proof of his image-worship. But, alas, he must wink very hard, that does not plainly see, that none of these things can be proved ; images are as far from standing in any relation to God, or being approved of, or appointed by him in his service, as those other things which were both approved and appointed in his service, were from having religious worship paid to them.

But to pass this : let us examine his instances particularly as they come to hand. His first is Exodus iii. 5, “And he said, Draw not nigh hither : put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.” All that Bellarmine would have hence, is, that “this ground was holy, because of the presence of the angel ;” which we freely grant him, and desire only to know what this is to the design of proving the worship of images lawful hence. Either this holy ground was worshipped by Moses, or it was not ; if it was not worshipped, how can this place help to defend image-worship ? If the holy ground was worshipped, why did not Bellarmine undertake to clear it, that so he might make way for the proving that images might as well be worshipped, as this piece of ground on which Moses then stood ? The truth is, Bellarmine saw easily that thing was not to be done, and was so wise as to let it alone. But though Bellarmine was so prudent, yet the author of the “Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel” was for venturing further, and he will have it, that when Moses was commanded to put off his shoes, because the place whereon he stood was holy ground, “an insensible creature was commanded by God himself* to be honoured :” and all he urges to prove this, is, that “the restraining to tread upon it, was the doing of honour to it.”

This is very easily answered : for (first,) though we allow the ground on which Moses stood was holy, yet it was such at that time because of the peculiar presence of the Angel of God, which was believed by the Fathers to be the Angel of the Covenant, and our author allows him to be God himself. Moses therefore was commanded to put off his shoes (which was the Eastern way of paying that respect which we do by uncovering the head), and thereby to pay reverence, not to the ground on which he stood, but to that God in whose presence he then stood, and who did appear to him, and send him to deliver his people. So that this place cannot patronize the worship of images.

Bellarmino's next text is Exodus xii. 16, where, according to him, the “feast of the passover is called holy and venerable.” Exod. xxviii. 2, wherein the “priests garments are called holy.” Isa. xi. 10, where “Christ's sepulchre (according to him) is called glorious :” and 2 Tim. iii. 15, where “the Scriptures are called holy.”

* Page 112.

I have crowded all these texts together, because they are so wholly impertinent to Bellarmine's purpose of proving and defending the worship of images, who it seems was resolved rather to trifle with these than to appear destitute of Scripture for image-worship. For what else is it to bring these texts here? The first is mistaken by him, as well as nothing to the purpose; for it is not said in that 16th verse, that the passover was holy and venerable, but only that "in the first day (of this feast) there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation." But suppose it had said what Bellarmine produces it for, does Bellarmine think thereupon, or can he, or any of their Church prove that the feast of the passover was made an object (and a very strange one it must have been) of religious worship. If he dare not attempt this, all his other labour is lost. And so likewise for the rest, were the priests garments, because holy, worshipped by the congregation of Israel? was the sepulchre of Christ (allowing that translation), because glorious, adored by the Apostles and first Christians? Is the Bible itself, because the Scripture thereof is holy, to be adored? Or was it ever adored by any Christians? Bellarmine must prove every one of these things, or else every one of his texts is altogether vain and impertinent here. The things mentioned by him are no otherwise called holy, than merely for their being dedicated and appointed to the honour and service of the great God of heaven and earth, who alone is to be worshipped.

These are all the proofs Bellarmine was able to muster together, to prove his image-worship from texts of Scripture. I observed before how careful he was to rank them into three sorts, to make a better show with them; but it was all to no purpose; for image-worship is not a matter to be proved from Scripture, and he might have brought a thousand texts out of any part of the Scripture as much to his purpose, as most of those he did produce have proved; which I have fully shewn to have been either impertinent or ridiculous, as to the proving from Scripture the lawfulness of the worship of images.

I must not forget to turn to another part of Bellarmine's works, where he hath made the cross an image, and hath a text for us to prove the worship of it from Scripture: it is Matth. xxiv. 30: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven." I do not doubt that most of my readers will be angry that I should vouchsafe to take notice of or set down a text so absolutely impertinent: but we cannot

help it, if such men as Cardinal Bellarmine will be trifling with such texts, we must answer them, or else such an unanswerable text was slipped over. To consider it therefore, Bellarmine will have it, that by the "sign of the Son of Man," here must be meant the sign of the cross, which (says he) upon this apparition, will be made venerable. But with his leave, there is no such necessity of the cross's being meant by the sign of the Son of Man here: for the senses of those words are both various and probable, and there is as good reason to understand by the sign, either our Saviour himself coming to judgment, or the last trump, or the glorious majesty with which our Saviour will then appear, as the sign of the cross. But allowing Bellarmine that the sign of the cross is meant here; yet, what is it he builds the worship of it upon? Is the meaning of "shall appear" shall be "worshipped?" This would be fine interpretation of Scripture; and yet as fine as it is, it is such as the Chuch of Rome must frame, or else no proofs from Scripture of the worship of images. And which is more, if this place did prove any thing, it is only that such a thing shall be at the day of judgment. Well, to be short, I am for spending no more words upon this text, but we will even refer the decision of this point to the day of judgment, when our Saviour hath told us, that "the sign of the Son of Man shall appear," upon this condition, that they of the Church of Rome allow me, that they have no Scripture to prove that the image of the cross ought to be worshipped in the mean time.

Having done with Bellarmine's texts of Scripture for the worship of images; there remains one other proof for image-worship out of the Scripture, mentioned by the Catholic Scripturist, as well as the author of the "Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel." Philippians ii. 9, 10: "And giving him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." What they would gather hence, is that this name of Jesus is a kind of a representation of Christ, at which we are commanded to bow the knee and pay reverence. But this is nothing to the purpose; for though we are commanded to bow at the name of Jesus, yet we are not commanded to bow to it; which last, indeed, would have limited this bowing as much to the word Jesus, which they make one sort of a representation of Christ, as the Church of Rome does their worship to a crucifix. The word (Jesus) at the hearing of which, we are to bow the knee, does no more

partake of the worship then paid, than the cornet, flute, sackbut and harp (at the hearing of which, all people were to fall down and worship) did partake of the worship paid to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image, Daniel iii. 5, 6. But as those instruments of music were to give the notice, and be the sign when the people were to fall down and worship the golden image which that king had set up; so the name of Jesus pronounced and heard, is the sign to us, and gives us notice to pay our worship to that glorified Saviour, whom that name puts us in mind of. And this is certainly the utmost sense of those words, as to bowing at the name of Jesus.

Having now gone through the texts which the Papists cite for their worship of images, I cannot but remind the reader, how little the word of God is a favourer of such unlawful practices, and how vain the attempts of Bellarmine, and the rest, have been to prove image-worship thence. They ought to have considered, that as long as the Second Commandment stands there, one of the severest laws that ever God made, is directly opposite to, and in full force against the worship of images.

OF THE WORSHIP OF RELICS.

WHAT the Church of Rome doth mean by the relics of saints, may very easily be understood, if we observe what those things are she busies herself so much in the making processions with, and pilgrimages to them. She understands by relics, not only the bodies or parts of the bodies of the saints, but any of those things which did belong to them, and were blessed so far as to touch their sanctified and (which is more) sanctifying bodies: such, as for example, is St. Francis's girdle, or St. Simon Stock's scapulary. These things that Church thinks she cannot honour too much, and therefore hath taken care in her Council of Trent, not only to defend her former practices towards relics, but to confirm the worship of them, and to curse those that shall dare to say such worship is unlawful. We need not wonder at her concern herein, since no question but she would very willingly have that thing to be thought very good, and very useful and lawful, which she hath taken such care to establish and recommend to all her children.

My business at present is to inquire, whether that worship of relics which she hath established in her communion, and doth practise daily, hath any foundation in Scripture ; and to examine those texts of Scripture which are urged and pretended to by Bellarmine and others, in favour of their worshipping of relics.

Bellarmino's first text is* Exod. xiii. 19 : " And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him : for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you ; and ye shall carry up my bones away hence with you." But this text is nothing to the proving the worship of relics ; had the text told us that the bones were carried with them, in order to their receiving blessings from them, and their worshipping them, and having recourse to them in their distresses, it had been a complete defence of the present practice of the Church of Rome, which hath its relics for such good and advantageous purposes, but there is not a syllable, or the least intimation of any such things ; and Bellarmine is so far aware of the justness of this exception of ours against this place, and though his texts were brought to prove the worship of relics, yet he owns concerning this text, that it only proves that the translation of relics is neither new nor superstitious.

But this cannot be admitted ; and the case is very different between a man's body, at his own request, being carried into another country to be buried with his fathers in the country his brethren should possess ; and the present practice of the Church of Rome, of mangling the bodies of their saints, and carrying one piece to this church, and another part of him to another church, and another country ; and making solemn processions with those relics hither and thither upon their solemnities, and never burying them at all, but putting them up in glasses and shrines. Joseph's bones were put up together in a coffin in Egypt, and upon the departure of the children of Israel thence, were carried by Moses to the land of Canaan, to be buried there with his father (as he had, while alive, engaged his brethren by a solemn oath to take care of), and that is all that can be drawn from this place of Exodus, which does not countenance the Romish practice of making processions with, and to their relics, much less defend their worshipping of them.

The second place is Deuteronomy xxxiv. 6 : where it is said

* Bellar. de Reliq. Sanct. 1. 2. c. 3. [vol. 2. p. 425. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

of God, that “he buried him (to wit, Moses) in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor : but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.” From this Bellarmine argues, that God honoured the body of Moses in burying it with his own hands. It is granted him, that the body of Moses was extraordinarily honoured herein ; yet what is this to the worshipping of relics, or to the worshipping of Moses’s body, which was the thing to be shewn here ? I hope Bellarmine would not have it that God himself did worship Moses’s dead body : if he did not (which I hope I need not prove), I am sure no body else could, since it is expressly said in the text, “that no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day,” and therefore none could find it, had there been men as fond as any Papist can be of paying worship, or making processions to it.

This text ought not to have been started by Bellarmine in this matter, since the text is so favourable to us against relic-worship ; for the sense of it, and the common interpretation of the Jewish doctors themselves, as well as others, is, that God did purposely hide the body of Moses, lest the people of Israel should have been, out of their great love and veneration to this their deliverer out of Egyptian bondage, perverted at some time or other to worship Moses’s dead body.

Bellarmino’s next place of Scripture for the worship of relics is 2 Kings xiii. 21 : “And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that behold, they spied a band of men, and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha : and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha he revived and stood upon his feet.” From this text he argues, “that God did not only honour the bones of this saint by working a miracle by them, but is desirous that they should be honoured.” As to God’s desire, it does not appear here. We do not deny that an extraordinary miracle was done here, and that God honoured the bones of his prophet Elisha by it ; but this does not prove that God doth therefore either give or intend such honour to the dead bodies of other of his saints ; we read of no more such miracles in the whole Bible.

And what is more ; this place is not only unserviceable to the Church of Rome for the proof of her relic-worship, but may very fairly be urged and retorted against them upon this account, that notwithstanding we read here of an extraordinary miracle, done by the dead bones of the prophet, yet we neither meet with one word of any honour done, or command to

Elisha's bones thereupon, nor find that they were taken up and enshrined by the Israelites, or had processions made to them in order to receive any benefits from them which had been the restorers of a dead man to life. This perfect silence of the place (especially when so fair and so necessary an opportunity was offered of mentioning such a worship of the bones and relics of saints, if such a thing had then a being) is a full evidence, that such worship of dead bodies as is now practised in the Church of Rome, was not so much as thought of then, notwithstanding so great a miracle wrought by Elisha's bones.

Another of Bellarmine's texts, but to much less purpose, is 2 Kings xxiii. 16, 17, 18 : "And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount, and sent and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burnt them upon the altar, and polluted it, according to the word of the Lord, which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these words. Then he said, What title is that that I see ? And the men of the city told him, it is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Bethel. And he said, Let him alone, let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that came out of Samaria."

From this large passage, all that Bellarmine is able to prove is, that whereas Josiah broke up the sepulchres, and burnt the bones of the false prophets upon the idolatrous altar, yet so great an honour he had for the relics of the man of God, that he commanded them to be preserved entire.

All this is very readily granted Bellarmine, and yet all this and ten times more, is far from proving the worship of relics. The good king Josiah commands here, that the prophet's bones should not be disturbed as the rest were, but that they should continue quietly in his grave ; and is not this a very fit place to be urged by those men, who instead of letting the bodies of good men rest in their graves, have, in honour to them, forsooth, digged them up ; and instead of laying them together again to rest, have lodged here an arm, and there a leg ; here one of their hairs, and in another place a piece of their skull, and are ever and anon carrying them in procession from one place to another ? This practice hath nothing at all in it like that of good king Josiah here, who did only order, that the prophet's bones should rest undisturbed in his grave.

Bellarmino's next text is Isa. xi. 10 : "To it (that is, to Christ the root of Jesse) shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious :" Bellarmine's vulgar Latin translation hath it, "and his sepulchre shall be glorious." What he would hence prove, is, that since Christ's sepulchre is said to be glorious, relics may be honoured : but that does not follow hence, since the phrase here is not literally taken ; but by Christ's sepulchre being glorious, is meant that therein he should obtain victory over the grave, and thereby become the cause of salvation and deliverance, from the power of death and the grave, for all believers in him ; a glory which does not concern the sepulchre of stone, which Bellarmine would have it to do, but Christ himself obtaining such a glorious victory in that place ; so that the sepulchre of stone wherein Christ lay, ought no more to be worshipped on this account, than Chorazin or Capernaum, wherein our Saviour had done so many mighty works : and Bellarmine might have spared this place ; for it does him no more service towards the proving the worship of relics, than it did before, towards the proving the worshipping of images, for which he alleged it.

These are all his texts out of the Old Testament for his proving the worship of relics thence. It is not worth while to remind the reader, how very impertinent they were to the point in controversy betwixt us : his texts out of the New Testament are of the same kind and strength, and therefore fewer words will serve to despatch them. Bellarmine begins with the history of the woman diseased with the issue of blood ; that upon her touching the hem of our Saviour's garment, she was made whole, Matth. xi. 20, 21, 22. But how does this text prove the worship of relics ? It proves, indeed, that the poor woman was miraculously healed upon the touch of our Saviour's garment ; but it does not prove that the garment itself did the cure, but says expressly that the cure was wrought by the virtue that came out of Christ himself. Could Bellarmine have shewn the other, it would have made a relic indeed of the garment, and especially of the hem, and the great misfortune would have been the loss of it, since, upon our blessed Saviour's crucifixion, it fell into the hands of the enraged soldiers, who parted it among them. But to pass by this, there is nothing here of any worship paid to the garment itself ; no command for any such thing ; and no laying it up for any such future cures : and these are the things which make a true relic of the Church of Rome.

His second text is, Acts v. 12, 15 : " And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people,—insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by, might overshadow some of them." From this passage Bellarmine argues, that the people were not reprehended for their solicitude to get to Peter's shadow, but that their faith was rewarded by cures : " and what relics," says he, " can be thought on so mean or vile as a shadow ?" And is not this a worthy argument ? Here is not so much as the shadow of a reason : for what are these miraculous cures, wrought for the confirmation and propagation of the Christian faith, and attested by the word of God, to Bellarmine's purpose ? Because such power was given to the Apostles, that the very shadow of one of them might cure miraculously, must every thing therefore that is better or nobler than a shadow, do such cures, and have such virtue ? This proves far too much ; this proves that every herb, nay, every worm must work miracles. It is very vain to dispute with men that can argue at this extravagant rate. I will put this point to this issue, that if they will produce any of St. Peter's shadow that did overshadow the sick people then, I will own it for a wonder-working relic, and be very civil to it. In the mean time I am satisfied that this place hath nothing to do with relic-worship.

Bellarmino's last text is of the same nature with this just mentioned, and to as much purpose ; Act. xix. 11, 12 : " And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them." What Bellarmine would conclude hence, is, that the people were not accused of superstition, who carried the aprons or handkerchiefs to the sick ; I do not only conclude with him, but must go on, and say it had been very hard if they had, and very unjust too, since they were certain of the miraculous cures to be wrought thereby : however, all this is nothing to the purpose of proving the worship of relics from Scripture. This place is so far from defending or proving the worship itself, that it doth not so much as prove that there are any such things as relics : the place tells us, that the aprons were carried from St. Paul's body, and did carry virtue hence to cure the sick ; but neither this, nor any other place doth tell us, that these aprons or handkerchiefs did retain that

virtue afterwards, and were laid up for such miraculous purposes, and that the people did resort and make processions to them with incense and other such religious honour. The truth is, we meet with no further mention of them, and must believe they underwent the common fate with other things of the like nature, to be cast away when useless, and perish with them.

However, though I verily believe this was their fate, and am sure the Scripture takes no further notice of them, yet I dare not deny that these aprons are kept in some Romish churches, as well as the thorns of our Saviour's crown. I must own that church's diligence hath been so wonderfully, why should I not say miraculously great about these things, that they have let nothing escape their search: nay, the very stones that the devil would have had our Saviour to command to be made bread, could not escape them.* For, as I remember, it is in the inventory of the Glastonbury reliques, that we meet with those extraordinary stones. I wish they that laid up such a treasure for the good of the Church, had told us what distemper the touch of these stones was good against.

But to wave such foolish and superstitious vanities; having examined all Bellarmine's Old and New Testament texts for reliques; I hope I have sufficiently shewn, that there is nothing in any of them that doth in the least countenance or defend the present practice of the Church of Rome of worshipping reliques, which practice (to give it the mildest word) is a groundless and most dangerous superstition, and cannot be at all proved from Scripture.

* Matth iv. 3.

BOOK VI.

THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME JUSTLY CONDEMNED, AS NOT ANSWERING THE TRUE ENDS OF DEVOTION.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

DEVOTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME,

ESPECIALLY AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

IN WHICH IT IS SHEWN

That whatever the Romanists pretend, there is not so true devotion among them, nor such rational provision for it, nor encouragement to it, as in the Church established by law among us.

It is certainly one of the greatest commendations that can be given of any Church, or body of Christians, that a man can with truth affirm of it, that the doctrines which they profess, the rules and orders under which they live, that the frame and constitution of the Church tendeth directly to make men more pious and devout, more penitent and mortified, more heavenly-minded, and every way of better lives than the way and profession of other Christians: for to work men up to this holy frame and disposition was one of the main designs of the Gospel of Christ, which intends to govern men's actions, and reform their temper, as well as to inform their understandings, and direct their belief. And in this particular it differs much from all the ethics of the learned heathen: for whereas they designed especially to exalt the passions, and to raise up the mind above itself, by commanding the high and pompous virtues, whereby to stir men up to great designs, and to appear bold and braving in the affairs of this life; the Gospel is most frequent in commendation of the humble, lowly, and

mortifying virtues, which would reduce the mind to itself, and keep men within due bounds, and teach them how to behave themselves towards God, and to live in due regard to another life.

Now there is scarcely anything which the Church of Rome doth more often urge for herself, or with greater confidence pretend to excel the Church of England in, than by endeavouring to persuade, that the frame of their Church is more fitted for the exciting of devotion, and a good life, than ours is. And so they will boast of their severe rules and orders ; the austerities of their fasts and penances ; the strict and mortified lives ; the constancy and incessancy of devotions used among them ; and would thence infer, that that must needs be the best religion, or way of serving God, in which these practices are enjoined and observed ; that “the tree must needs be good by such excellent fruits ;” and that if all other arguments fail, yet they say they have this to shew for themselves, that in their communion, there is at least somewhat more like that great self-denial and mortification so often made necessary under the Gospel, than is to be found in the Reformed Churches, or particularly in the Church of England. Now laying aside all disputes concerning points of doctrine, in controversy between them and us, in which it hath been abundantly shewn, that they err in matters of faith ; and that in what they differ from us, they differ also from the Scripture, and the true Church of Christ in all the best ages ; I will confine myself to examine their pretence to devotion, where I doubt not but it will sufficiently appear, that they are as much deficient also in regularity of practice ; that there is not that true foundation laid for such devotion as God accepts, nor that strict provision made for it, nor that real practice of it which they would make us believe : but that even the best which they pretend to, is such as doth by no means befit a truly Christian spirit.

I will discourse in this method :

1. I will instance in the several expressions of devotion, the motives to it, or assistances of it, which the Church of Rome pretends to, and on which she is used to magnify herself.
2. I will allege the just exceptions which we have against such their pretences.
3. And then shew that they are so far from encouraging true devotion, that many things, both in their doctrine and discipline, directly tend to the destruction of it.

4. I will shew what excellent provision is made in the Church of England, for the due exercise of all the parts of devotion ; and what stress is laid on it, and on a good life among us.

First, Though devotion is properly and chiefly in the mind, a due sense of God and religion, yet it is not sufficient if it stop there : for there are certain outward acts which are either in themselves natural and proper expressions, or else are strictly required of us by God, as duties of religion, and evidences of the devout temper of our minds : and these are called acts of devotion. And all the commendation that can be given of any Church, on account of devotion, must be either, that there is a true foundation laid for it in men's minds, or constant provision made for the due exercise of it, all necessary encouragement given to it, and a suitable, strict and regular practice of it observable among them. And there are several things which are not at all insisted on by us, which they of the Church of Rome boast of, as serving to some or all of these purposes, which I shall represent as fairly as I can, that we may see what there is in that Church that doth answer such great pretences.

For it is observed, that they of the Church of Rome, oftentimes, instead of dispute, endeavour to work on our people, and too often prevail, by appealing to matters of practice, visible to every one's eye ; an argument to which men need not use their reason, but their sense ; and this will (say they) sufficiently convince any of the excellency of our way. "For here are several things used as instances and expressions of devotion, very acceptable to God, and suitable to a good Christian temper, which are either not at all used in the Church of England, or at least not in that degree and measure, and yet all those that are used in the Church of England, say they, are used among us : for we not only enjoin, and practise constant use of prayers public and private, together with reading and preaching of the word, sacraments, and whatever is used in the Church of England : but we have besides, several things which are as well proper expressions of devotion, as helps and assistances, which are not used among the Protestants."

The principal things which they urge, are such as these :

1. They blame the Reformation in general, as well as the Church of England, for the want of monasteries, and such other religious houses, which are so numerous in the Popish countries, where holy men and women being shut up, and

having bid adieu to the world, live as in heaven, in constant exercise of praising of God night and day, and of praying to him for the Church and State, and particular Christians, as well as themselves ; and who are not only so beneficial to the world, by the constancy of their prayers, but also by their example, putting others in mind of religion and of doing likewise ; and by the severity of their lives, as to diet, garb, and other circumstances, live in a constant practice of that self-denial which is commanded in Scripture, and was so practised by holy men almost from the beginning of Christianity ; and are, as it were, constant preachers of holiness and mortification, who, though they do indeed stay here in the world below, yet converse not in it, but are in some sense out of it, and live above it.

2. They sometimes also boast of the extraordinary charity, and liberality to all good and holy uses pressed and practised among them, which is but sparingly used, say they, among the Protestants ; especially their excessive expense and cost in building and endowing monasteries, erecting churches, chapels and crosses, their so pompous adorning the places dedicated to the worship of God, besides their charitable assistance, and relief which they afford to the bodies of the living, and the souls of the dead ; and no man can deny but charity is a certain evidence, as well as a great branch and duty of true religion and devotion.

3. Sometimes they glory in the great number of saints commemorated in their Church, and dying in the communion of it, and urge them as a forcible example to others, and a mighty incentive to devotion ; they think also it redounds much to the honour and commendation of their Church to have had such glorious members of it, and twit us, as they think, severely when they ask us what saints we have of our Church, and wonder especially that we should observe so few festivals and holidays ; whereas the very many days set apart in their Church in memory of their several saints, they think not only afford proper occasions for all acts of religion ; but are a sign of their being less addicted to this world, when so great a part of their time is spent in the service of God, and that piety and devotion are a considerable part of their business and employment.

4. They urge also the multitude of pictures and images of several famous men and women, who have in an eminent manner served and pleased God, and been instrumental in con-

verting the world, as very proper assistances of a man's devotion; instructing some, they being the books of the unlearned, and sensibly affecting and alluring all to the imitation of the persons whom they represent.

5. Sometimes they command their Church for the fastings, and other acts of severity and mortification, used not only by the monks and regulars, but by all sorts of men, according to the rules of their Church, on set days of the week or seasons of the year; as well as such austeries as are enjoined by their confessors, by way of penance; their going bare-foot and bare-headed in processions, their whipping and lashing themselves, their drawing great chains and weights after them, as great and proper instances of self-denial and devotion.

6. They place also a great deal of religion in pilgrimages, which the more devout sort take, and spend their estates, and sometimes their lives in, to Jerusalem, Rome, Loretto, Mount-serrat, to St. Thomas at Canterbury, St. Winefrid's Well, or some such other places where some extraordinary person hath lived, or some strange relic is left, or where they reckon God hath, on some occasion or other, wonderfully manifested himself; and they reckon, that the very visiting or kissing these, are either an argument of truly devout minds, or that which will make them so. And their manuals or books which their priests give into the people's hands, do not fail by all the art imaginable to endeavour to screw up men's devotion, even to rapture and extacy in commendation of these practices and orders, even as if they would have us believe that there is no true religion and devotion without these, and that where there are these things practised, it is a certain sign that the mind is affected as it ought, and piety flourisheth in the highest degree.

And besides these matters of practice, there are also several doctrines and opinions, peculiar to themselves, which they reckon do naturally tend to the advancement of true devotion.
As,

7. Their doctrine concerning the intercession of saints for us, and the advantage of invocation or prayer to them, and that we of the Church of England want one of the greatest encouragements to prayer and devotion that can be, who neither own nor make use of these helps, and therefore that we cannot have such hope of success and blessing as they have.

8. Their doctrine concerning the merit of good works and supererogation, is of the same nature, in their esteem: for the more worth you suppose in any action, the greater encourage-

ment is there to the performance of it, and therefore surely it must be a most irresistible motive to devotion, to persuade men that the worth and value of it is such, as that you may by it purchase heaven, not only for yourselves, but for others also.

9. Their belief of purgatory, and of the validity of prayers for the dead, doth naturally tend to excite men to devotion, say they ; for here is a greater scope and occasion for our prayers, we may hope to be instrumental to more good, more persons to be relieved and helped by our prayers, than are supposed in the devotions of the Church of England.

10. And especially their doctrine and practice of confession, penance and absolution, they look on as so necessary to devotion, that it is a wonder with them that there should be any show of it, where these are not received and practised : for a particular confession of all sins to a priest being so strictly required, they say, is the readiest way to bring men to a sense of, and shame for their sins ; and penance being also imposed presently on them, will surely make men to be more afraid of sinning again, when they see it must cost them so dear, and that they may not despair or despond, by reason of the multitude or weight of their former sins, but may be encouraged to strive more earnestly against sin for the future, the priest gives them absolution of what is passed, at the same time encouraging their hope, as well as exciting their fear, and endeavouring by the same method, both to allure, to force and to shame men into amendment.

Lastly, they insist much also on the validity of their ordinations, the truth and succession, unity and authority of their church, and the obedience that is paid to the rules and orders of it, as mighty helps and assistances, and encouragements to devotion ; when they are so sure of the sacraments being duly administered, and all other acts of authority rightly performed, when the laws of the Church, for the punishment of offenders, are duly executed, and when the Church hath power to oblige all to an uniform and regular practice.

All these things, say they, do either encourage and excite men to devotion, or assist or direct them in the exercise of it, give more room or afford better occasions for it, or else shew more fully the necessity of such and such parts of it, than what is received and practised in the Church of England ; and therefore the Church of England that wants these, wanteth also much of the occasion, matter, opportunities and arguments for devotion : so that laying aside all disputes concerning articles

of faith, they doubt not but it will be readily granted, "that at least, they are a more devout people ; whatever their belief is, their practice is more agreeable to that self-denial and mortification commanded in Scripture ; that God is more constantly and reverently served among them, than he is among us ; that they take more pains, are at more cost and trouble in the worship of God, which they think is an instance of a good religious mind, and will be most secure of God's acceptance.

These are, I think, indeed, the most that they do urge for themselves in this point ; and there is something of appearance of truth in all this. Most of these instances are such, as may, perhaps, be very taking at first sight with some people, they having a show of regularity, strictness and severity, or else of being proper helps and assistances of devotion : for men are wont to admire anything that looks odd or big, especially if others have but the confidence highly to praise and extol it. But if we examine them, we shall find them to fall infinitely short of such specious pretences ; some of them to be unlawful, and those that are good in themselves, to be some way or other spoiled in the use of them ; always they err in some material part or circumstance ; and taken altogether, they have nothing in them which evidence any true devout temper, either designed to be wrought by the Church, or actually working in the people : much less do they bespeak greater devotion than is required and practised in our Church.

For it hath been well observed by the judicious Sir Edwin Sandys, that the Church of Rome hath so contrived its rules and orders, as rather to comply with, and fit every temper and inclination, good or bad, than to work any real good effect on any. And therefore, as it hath several things which openly agree with, and please the profane and debauched ; so it must be granted, that it hath somewhat also to suit with, and gratify the melancholy temper, where the devoutly disposed may find somewhat an agreeable retreat : and therefore one would be apt to suspect that the most strict and severe of their orders, were kept up rather out of a politic end, to please and quiet the people, than really to advance true piety to God and devotion. But however, it is plain, that taking the whole frame of that Church together, it doth not design to promote serious and true devotion ; but only to make a noise, and to appear so to do. For when I see the same Church, though sometimes seeming to countenance the utmost severity as necessary, yet at other times to give all liberty, and let the

reins loose to all kind of debauchery, I have just reason to fear they are not in earnest for religion : for all such irregular heats, are a sign of bad principles, or a distempered constitution. Just as if I should see the same person sometimes desperately dissolute and debauched, and at other times intolerably strict and severe, and this interchangeably and often, I shall much question his strictness, whether it be sincere ; if his sense of piety were real, it would be more lasting and uniform : and therefore, without breach of charity, I think I may look on him in his greatest severity, rather to act a part on a stage, and to serve a present turn and occasion, than to be really in his mind what such strictness would represent him. And therefore whatever true devotion is in any of that communion, ought to be ascribed to somewhat else, rather than to the constitution of that Church : for even those things which they are used to boast most of, which I have mentioned already, we shall easily find to have little that is truly commendable, much that is greatly faulty in them ; and if their best things are no better, what are their worst ? If the subject of their glory is shameful, what will become of the rest ?

2. And therefore I will now shew what we have justly to except against their fore-mentioned pretences to devotion.

1. As for monstery in general, which they boast so much of, calling it *Status perfectionis et religiosus*, as if besides the state of men in holy orders, that were a state of perfection, and nothing else worthy the name of religious. We confess, that scarcely as to anything concerning the externals of religion, doth the Church of England distinguish itself from the Romish Church so much, as that there is not any provision made, or so much as a supposition of such monasteries, or religious houses, or public places of retirement for devout people, as they are called, being again ever settled among us. For though we are not so rash as utterly to abhor and throw away everything that at any time had been abused to superstition, yet we are very well contented that monasteries should never be rebuilt among us. For we do not look on the life of monks as any great help to devotion, or an instance of true religion prevailing where they are found ; much less that they are necessary in the Christian Church.

For it is evident that the first and purest ages of the Church did not know anything of them : almost three centuries passed without any mention of them in ecclesiastical history. Antony and Paul in the Diocletian persecution, being taken

notice of as the first of that way. We read indeed of some that did lead a more than ordinary severe course, and denied themselves much of the (perhaps) lawful pleasures of this life, in respect to religion and the other life; but these were not monks, or the modern ascetics; though it hath been the way of the Church of Rome, in more instances than this, to impose some new thing on the world, upon the reputation of some good and reverend old name: for the lives of the ancient ascetics, or mortified men, differed much from the present monks of the Church of Rome. We find not that they engaged themselves in a solemn vow, distinct from, or above that of their baptism. For whatever their general course of life was, they would take the liberty to break their rule sometimes in order to extraordinary charity, or when an occasion offered itself of doing more good; as is recorded particularly concerning Spyridon, a bishop in Cyprus. Nor do we find that they always continued in the same state of life; but took such a severe course on themselves at some particular times, and on some special occasions (as the Nazarites of old did), to humble, and bring their bodies under, and as St. Paul adviseth the married; but not to continue always so, lest Satan should tempt them; and they reckoned it an higher degree praiseworthy for every act of mortification to be voluntary, than that they should once for all force themselves to it: and therefore still retained a power to themselves, and did vary from this method sometimes, and on occasion would indulge themselves a greater, though still a lawful liberty. They took not on them the vow of poverty, nor placed perfection in beggary, but reckoned every creature of God to be good; and even the outward good things of this life to be the gift and grace of God, if they be well employed, according to 1 Peter iv. 10; and remembered that saying of our blessed Saviour, Acts xx. 35, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Nor did they vow what the Church of Rome now calls chastity, but reckoned themselves as chaste in wedlock; and as for obedience, the third part of the monks' vow, they thought it sufficient to obey the commands of God, and knew not of any other obedience due from them, but only to their governors in Church and State, whose lawful commands they reckoned themselves obliged to, in order to the more regular administration of affairs, and the more peaceable government of the world; much less had they any distinct rules to be set up in competition with the laws of God, and urged as necessary to salvation, making even the

commandments of God of none effect, as many of the monks' rules apparently do, as might be easily made to appear. Such religious men as these there were in the first ages, who practised a stricter devotion than others, that God's name might be the more hallowed by them, the more it was profaned by the rest of the world, and who were more than ordinary instant and constant in prayers for a blessing on the Church and State, of which they were members ; and by the strictness and severity of their lives, made some amends for the negligence and viciousness of the age in which they lived.

And many such as these, we doubt not, are now among us, who yet utterly dislike the Popish monarcy. And if by the monastic life all this were done, and nothing else designed, it were justly to be commended : for let men deny themselves as much as they will, and use their Christian liberty to the restraint of themselves by a voluntary self-denial and mortification to keep their bodies under, and thereby get a better temper of mind. But all this will not suffice in the Church of Rome : for it is not enough for a man to live so strict and holy a life, unless he enter into a vow particularly to this purpose. Nay, though a man do take upon him all these vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience ; and though they be made to his bishop or confessor, who one would think were the properst persons in the case, yet still it is not sufficient ; he cannot be said to be in this religious state, unless he vow obedience to another kind of spiritual jurisdiction. So that it is neither the living so strictly, nor vowed to live strictly, as the most severe monks ; but it is their being of a particular order, and living under such and such rules, that is so meritorious ; so that by monarcy indeed, monarcy is encouraged, and some politic and secular designs answered ; but the advancement of piety and devotion is not principally designed or intended. But to discourse more distinctly of it :

In a monastic life these three things are especially remarkable :

First, The secluded, and perhaps eremitical way of living which they lead.

Secondly, The constancy and regularity of devotions practised there.

Thirdly, The severity of their rules, and austerity of their lives.

But I must needs say, that there is little of true devotion, that I can discover in any of these.

First, Their being shut up from the world, or living in deserts, is no very proper instance of their devotion, or agreeable to the design of Christianity.

For a man should converse in the world, else he cannot so well understand it, what is amiss, or wanting in it, nor how even to apply and place the emphasis of his prayers.

A man that lives in a wilderness, or shut up always in a monastery, it is possible that he may keep himself free from the defilements of the world; but yet it must be looked on as much more noble and commendable to converse in the world, and yet to avoid the pollution of it.

And though by such a secluded life he may escape one kind of temptation, yet still he will be at least as liable to the two others, that arise from the devil, or his own flesh and temper, as ever. And if he avoid some sins, yet still he will be more subject to others, sourness, moroseness, melancholy, censoriousness, spiritual pride, and other sins of as high a nature as those, which by being shut up from the world, he pretends to avoid. And yet such as these are generally legible and observable in the very looks, conversation, and carriage of monks and hermits.

Indeed retiredness sometimes is an excellent help to the mind, by giving it time to recollect itself, and to reflect on its former miscarriages, and the better to prepare itself for its future encounters in the world. But a man may exceed in the measures and degrees of this, as well as of other conveniences and lawful enjoyments; and so it may become a snare and an evil to him: for the mind will naturally be as much tired with solitude as with business. Besides, that the devil is always most busy when men are idle; and diversion and recreation is as necessary to most tempers, as health and cheerfulness are; and fits a man even for the duties of religion. For the keeping the mind in a constant bent, though of devotion, will in a short time weaken its spring, and dull its edge; and the acts of devotion, in such a mind, will, it is to be feared, be rather a formal piece of drudgery, than a reasonable service. And though we should grant, that by being confined to a monastery, a man might better escape the defilements of any kind of sin; yet it must be granted, that he cannot be in so much capacity of doing good in the world, as if he conversed freely with it: and Sozomen* quotes it as a

* Soz. 1. 1. c. 12. [p. 24. Cantab. 1720.]

most remarkable saying of some of the first monks, “that he that abstains from evil, but doth no good, ought to be esteemed a very bad man ; and so the commands of Scripture enjoin us to take care to do good as well as abstain from evil, else we shall be reckoned among the unprofitable servants.” We are sure that public service ought to be preferred before private, the glory of God and the good of men being more advanced by it ; and therefore, though that man that lives in a wilderness, and serves God there when he is forced to it by persecution, may hope for a blessing, though he be alone, and neither worshippeth God in public, nor gives a good example to the world ; yet he that runs into a wilderness to be wondered at and admired, and neglects the ordinary and most useful way of serving God, there is too much reason to fear “he hath his reward.” At least, how far soever it may please God to pardon his blind zeal, and want of discretion, yet certainly this example of his ought not to be recommended to all, as a rule for them to walk by. The first monks, we grant, were very good and pious men, and were compelled to forsake their houses and live in solitude : but it is very unreasonable to make their manner of life a pattern to be followed in the quiet and peaceable ages of the Church. For this would be to shew ourselves insensible of the goodness of God to us, in giving us liberty of serving him freely and openly, and that we dare profess our religion without fear of losing our lives. And for the same reason we should still choose to celebrate the sacrament in an upper room, because our blessed Saviour and his holy Apostles did so, and should have our religious assemblies in crypts and vaults under ground, because the first Christians, in times of difficulty and persecution, often durst use no other.

And as the solitude of a monastic life is no proper assistance or expression of true devotion, was not known in the first ages of the Church, and afterwards was not taken up of choice, but by necessity : so also in the last place I observe, that the Gospel of Christ, and the rules of living, which are given us by himself, and his holy Apostles, never enjoin or suppose any such thing. We are always supposed to live in company and society ; and accordingly the precepts of our Saviour and the Apostles are adapted to the common cases of men, and the concerns of such as converse freely in the world. And therefore I must needs say, that it hath been very wisely ordered, that there should be new and distinct rules made for those

that delight in this solitary and monastic way of life: for they are such a kind of men, as the Gospel of Christ hath no proper rules for.

Secondly, And I am afraid that there is as little true devotion in their so frequent and constant prayers enjoined and practised in their monasteries, though this be confessedly what is most commendable in their way of life, and is the only way by which they themselves can pretend to do any good in the world—if I except those, which are but very few, that work with their hands.

Praise and prayer is therefore acceptable with God, as it is in the voluntary expression of our souls, a free-will offering and sacrifice which we offer to God, in consideration of his infinite excellencies and perfections in himself, his former undeserved goodness to us, and our liableness to him. Now the constant prayers used in their monasteries, in more particulars than one, come short of that true devotion due from men to their Maker. For first, they are, as much as can be, forced on a rational being, and on that account must needs lose much of their worth and acceptableness. The monks are obliged, by the rules of their several orders, to say such and such prayers, and just at such and such times, whatever devotion or intention of mind they have; and they are severely punished if they fail of them. Exactly at midnight, at two or three o'clock in the morning, so very often, and at so very unseasonable times, that many have confessed this strictness of their devotions to be of all the greatest burden of their lives: and yet this they must do in imitation of some holy man of old, who is recorded to have prayed at these hours; whereas these men's devotions are not warm enough to keep them awake when they are at prayer. And therefore these prayers not being the free emanations of their own mind, methinks the praise of them is not so much due to the monks themselves, as to the head and founder of their order, who obliged them to such rules.

And their devotion is little more praise-worthy than that of the Jews at Avignon, and several other places, who are once in a week forced to go to Church and hear a sermon (as these monks are), at least to sit there whilst a sermon is preached, and return home as good Christians as they went thither.

But then they are not only thus strictly obliged to such hours of prayer, for that were somewhat tolerable, they might possibly be intent on their prayers notwithstanding. But they

are at the same time taught, that they need only say the words with their mouths, it is not absolutely necessary that their mind should go along with them ; and this, together with the other, must needs spoil all true devotion. The frequency and unseasonableness of their prayers will make it very difficult for them to attend as they ought, and their doctrine concerning the no-necessity of attention at prayers will certainly make them to yield to these difficulties ; and so there may be abundance of words said, but no devotion performed.

Besides all this, they have a way of being eased of this trouble of the prayers ; for according to their casuists, it is allowable for a man to get or hire another to say his prayers for him. At least he may be dispensed with by his superior, and this dispensation is good, whether there be a just reason or occasion for it or no, according to an excellent maxim of theirs, *Non ad valorem, sed ad justitiam requiritur causa.*

And if after all this, men still will be more than they need strict in their prayers, according to the rules of their orders, they almost constantly offend in the end and design of their devotions. For they do them not so much to benefit the world, or to work themselves up to a better temper of mind ; but to perform a task imposed on them, and which they have vowed to perform, or especially to merit by their works : for they do not so much as pretend that this strictness in devotion is absolutely necessary for their salvation, (for else why do they not enjoin it to all, seeing all have the same need of salvation ?) and therefore the sole end of all this strictness and constancy in prayers is only to get to heaven for others. Which opinion, besides that it will mightily discourage men of an ordinary charity from being very intent on what they do, when they are sensible they labour only for another ; it countenanceth also a false and dangerous doctrine concerning the merit of good works, and encourageth all vicious practices in other men, who will hope to be saved, though not by their own prayers, yet by the prayers of these holy monks said for them.

So that on many accounts, there is little of true devotion to be found in that constant course of prayers, said so regularly by the monks and hermits ; not to mention several other particulars concerning the frame and language of their prayers, the object or persons worshipped or prayed to, the persons prayed for, and the like, which I may have occasion to mention

afterwards ; which being put together, do abundantly shew the impropriety and the worthlessness of such devotions.

Thirdly, And as to the austerities of the lives of their monks and nuns, the punishments which they inflict on themselves, as they profess, for the sake of religion, by " coarse and uneasy garments, scanty food and fare, long and tedious watchings, frequent and cruel whippings and lashings ;" and other such coarse and harsh treatments, which they use towards their own bodies ; I confess I pity them, but can discern little or no true Christian devotion in them.

For all severity to our bodies is not devotion, or any part of that self-denial which the Gospel requires ; nor is this of theirs, though they pretend it to be for the sake of religion ; but their insisting so strictly on it, and valuing themselves so much on it, is of very bad consequence to religion.

All punishment which men inflict on themselves, is not religion, nor commendable, nor is the patient bearing of it always a sign of a true Christian temper. Christ hath nowhere told us, that he that can fast longest, or endure most lashes, is the best man ; but he that governeth himself and his life best. We have strange instances of this insensibleness of pain in many of the worst principles and most profligate consciences : the devil hath his martyrs as well as God ; and if the voluntarily inflicting punishment on themselves be a sign of devotion, the priests of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. must have been a very devout generation of men. Therefore it is not any religious commendation of a man, that he can stoutly whip or lash himself, or bear it from another without flinching. Such a man might have made a good gladiator, but seems not so well qualified for a Christian.

Nor is all punishment which men inflict on themselves, and say they do it for the sake of God and religion, always a sign of true devotion : for in other cases, it is not men's saying that they design well, which will make their actions acceptable with God ; but it is their doing what he hath commanded, and for the ends which he designed and intended, with which he is well pleased. And it too often happens, that men do actions having a show of sanctity, and of great self-denial ; which yet are received by God only with a " who hath required this at your hands ? "

Self-denial indeed is commanded in Scripture, and is necessary also to many and excellent purposes, to subdue a man's passions and affections, and to bring him to a right under-

standing of himself ; to put a man in mind of leaving the pleasant things of this world, sensibly to affect him with the condition of those that are in misery, and always want them, and to inure him to bear patiently the adverse things, or whatever it shall please God to lay upon him. It is necessary that a man should have a mind always ready and prepared to lose all for Christ ; and therefore he ought often to deny himself somewhat for the sake of Christ, that he may give full proof to himself, that his mind is affected as it ought to be : and by voluntary acts of this nature, he preserves a power over himself, and is much the more fitted for all the accidents of life, and for the exercise of devotion.

But let a man have a care that he keep within due bounds ; he may exceed and transgress both in the measure, and in the end and design of such mortification. He exceeds in the measure of it, when he inflicts such severity on himself, as shall render him unfit for the service of God, and useless in his place. God delights not in the punishment of his creatures, but desires their good here, as far as it is consistent with their greater good hereafter. And though he requires self-denial of us, it is only in such a measure as is for our good, in order to the bettering of our temper, and to cut off the occasions of sin in us. And therefore it is a great fault in any man, on this pretence to render his life so uneasy to himself, as that he shall not be able to serve God contentedly, cheerfully, and without distraction : as a man may be to blame also for his charity, when without a just occasion he throws or gives away all : for if this course were allowed or followed, the worse people, and they that know least how to use an estate well, would be the richest, and owners of all, and the only persons in authority and power.

And he transgresseth also in the end and design of such severity, when he pretends to merit by it, and hopes to buy heaven (which is the gift of God) with a few lashes, or a little money.

And I have too much reason to undervalue and dislike the severity of the monks on both these accounts. They often tie themselves up to such degrees of strictness as are above the measures of a man, and consequently not to the purpose of religion and devotion. And they always design to purchase heaven for themselves or others, by the merits of such sufferings : at the same time undervaluing the sufferings of Christ, and overvaluing their own ; and yet making them of

less worth in God's esteem, than else they would be, by their own setting so high a price upon them.

And besides all this, their insisting so strictly on these pieces of austerity, and placing such religion and perfection in them, is of very ill consequence to other purposes.

It makes men to acquiesce in the means as the end, to content themselves with having performed their fasts, their number of prayers and lashes, without ever aiming at any reformation and change of temper and practices; than which nothing can be more absurd in itself, or more contrary to the design of Christianity.

It makes men also to esteem this or that kind of meat and drink, condition, or course of life, to be unlawful or sinful, which really is not; which doth much harm, even to religion: for it disparageth God's creation, and brings an evil report upon the land. It necessarily makes men querulous and censorious; and is the very thing which our Saviour took such pains to correct, and did so often rebuke the Pharisees of his time for.

And this extraordinary pretence to severity brings the persons of such men into esteem, whatever their principles, opinions, and practices otherwise are, and so injures religion. For so ecclesiastical history tells us, that those heretics that have most hurt the Church, were such kind of pretended mortified men, as Montanus, Pelagius, &c. "So that what do these more than others? Do not even the publicans so?"

And therefore, however praiseworthy the monastic life may have been formerly, and whatever good may have been done by some of that order; yet this is no plea for the monks at this time: for the ancients were very instrumental in converting many to Christianity; but these only live on the spoil of Christians already made so. And considering the present posture of affairs in the world, this monkish way of living is very improper, and the abuses that are made of it in the Church of Rome, are plainly intolerable, where men are taught to place religion in a certain way and trade of life, rather than in a truly Christian conversation. It strikes at the very foundation of our religion, for men to be made to believe, that the living or dying in the habit of this or that severe order of monks, will have an influence on the soul, and give it a better title to heaven. And yet it is too notorious that these things are confidently taught and believed among them.

In short, let men deny themselves as much as they will, for the sake of God and of religion, to humble themselves for their

sins, and to keep their bodies and passions under : let them use their Christian liberty to the restraint of themselves, by a voluntary self-denial, as far as they find it necessary or expedient : but for this to be brought into a trade, is the most preposterous thing in the world : especially, let them have a care of censuring and judging others, who tread not exactly in their steps, or of over-valuing themselves on account of this severe and strict course of life. For it is evident, that for the most part it is not religion brings them thither, or any extraordinary love of devotion ; but their parents send them thither as a pretty cheap way of providing for their younger children, that so they may be able the more honourably to dispose of the rest agreeably to the grandeur of the family. Therefore if they will commend the institution of monasteries, as a good and frugal way of breeding up of youth, or of providing for a spare child or two, let them do what they will. But it is not to be suffered, that when they serve especially, or only to such politic ends, yet that they should be boasted of as the best, or only Christian and religious way of life, as if the persons in them were the only religious, and all others secular, and in some measure profane.

Besides, it is very unreasonable for persons to be shut up in monasteries, so as they are, when they are young, and before they can have fully considered what temptations they may have, or how they shall be able to bear and withstand them ; and yet if they have but once, though of a sudden, through their own melancholy, or the insinuation of others, taken the vow on themselves, there is ordinarily no revoking or drawing back for ever.

It is very cruel also for persons to be put there, without any consideration of their several tempers and circumstances. For instead of benefiting the public, which they pretend, it robbeth the world of many an one that would have been useful to it in an active life and station. And some by their tempers do not need such mortification, as the melancholy and dejected. Others cannot bear the strictness and confinement, the weak and sickly. And now to force this same course of life on all, or such a number of men, indifferently, is like the cruelty of that tyrant that would make all men of the same length : and the best that can be said in the case is, that the persons who thus confine and shut up their children and relations, are like to the persecutors, who in like manner shut up St. Cyprian ; which certainly was cruelty in them, though by so doing they gave him

a greater opportunity for private devotion. So that, in truth, I look on the monasteries, as they are now ordered, to be rather a kind of prisons and places of punishment, than convenient places of retirement, in order to the freer and more undisturbed exercise of religion and devotion. And if I am not mistaken, the Church of Rome herself, whatever she pretends, really thinks so of them : for the worst punishment that she inflicts on a priest, for one of the worst offences, *viz.* for his violating the seal of confession is, that he shall be condemned to be shut up in a monastery ; and I dare say, that he and I agree in thinking that to be a severe punishment, rather than an help to devotion.

Secondly, And if the multitude of monasteries in the Church of Rome is no certain sign of devotion flourishing among them, they have little reason to boast of their works of charity : for it is most plain, that the biggest part of their charity is turned this way, to the building and endowing monasteries, and to the encouragement of the monastic way of living.

But besides this, though I am very loth to find fault with any pretence to charity, yet I have too much reason, on many accounts, to think very meanly of all that which is practised in the Church of Rome : for whatever hath been given to that Church under the name of charity, and is now enjoyed by it, hath, for the most part, been ill gotten, and is as ill employed.

And here I will not treat of the temporal power of the Pope himself, and of the several principalities which he stands possessed of in Italy and France ; for they cannot be ranged under the head of charity, according to my acceptation of the word ; though it might be easily made to appear, that they have generally been gotten by unjust and unlawful, or at best by harsh and cruel means, and such as one would not expect from the successor of St. Peter. But I concern myself with smaller and more private benefactions and gifts, though these are so considerable, that generally a third part, often half the lands of a country are the property of the Church. Now all this is gotten chiefly from men that are dying, who can keep their riches no longer, and therefore who do not so much give this from themselves, as from their heirs ; and is especially, as it were, to buy heaven ; and a man must have a most despicable esteem of heaven, who will not give all the good things of this life, when he can no longer use or enjoy them, for the purchase of it ; and what is given from so bad a principle, is commonly applied to as bad a purpose. It is a common

observation, that in all the Popish countries the poor are the most miserable in the world ; and their secular priests too are generally in a sad condition, notwithstanding the infinite riches of that Church : and so the regulars only have any considerable advantage by them ; and they also, as it were, club together to set up one great man as cardinal, or head of their order, in mighty pomp and state ; and heap riches and preferments on him till he can hardly bear them. So that one can scarcely suppose so great riches as that Church is in common endowed with, to be gotten into fewer hands, or do less good than it doth amongst them. Let them not therefore boast of their charity, whilst amidst so great plenty, they suffer the poor to want so extremely ; and yet, to make a show, build a fine hospital in two or three of their chief towns : for perhaps no where in the world do the rich more exalt themselves, and tyrannize over the poor ; no where is there a greater inequality of conditions ; no where is there so much given to the Church and charity ; and nowhere is the estate of the Church engrossed into so few hands, to maintain grandeur, rather than to be a relief to poverty. For the cardinals, above seventy in number, are maintained out of the Church-revenues, and yet are by their creation equal to kings, and superior to princes. Now if this be charity to have a prodigious revenue for the maintenance of the Church and poor, and yet to employ this to the luxury of a few, and to let the rest perish, I will acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the most charitable Church in the world. And if it be said, that a great deal indeed hath been given to good and truly charitable uses, but is now perhaps misemployed : I answer, it is possible it may be so ; yet still I have some reason to question it ; for their doctrines of merit, and of buying souls out of purgatory, &c. are enough to spoil their works of charity, and make them to be rather esteemed a bargain of sale, than a free gift. And yet their donations run commonly in this form : I give this to such a monastery, for the good of my soul, or of the souls of other persons deceased, or for the honour of such a saint ; but seldom for the good of the poor, the maintenance and support of true piety and religion, or for the glory and honour of God : and yet in my opinion, such as these are the only ends for which a gift ought to be esteemed charitable, or will be accepted by God as such.

But now on the other side, though the Church of England own not either purgatory or any other of their pick-pocket

doctrines; yet charity urged by us from truly Christian principles, hath had more force, and done more good than all their tricks and devices put together: for so Dr. Willet hath in part shewn; and it might be more fully demonstrated, that in these last 120 or 130 years, since the settling of the Reformation among us, there hath been more and greater churches, schools, and hospitals built and endowed, better provision made for the poor; more and better care taken, not only for the maintenance, but especially for the instruction of the ignorant and meaner sort of people: in short, all parts of charity more fully exercised, than can be shewn in any the like number of years since Christianity came into this country. Indeed, the general strain of our people's charity runs to the doing more good, and is more properly expressed than theirs is. The Papists build monasteries, in which provision is made for a few people to live in idleness and luxury, under pretence of devotion and retirement. Ours relieve the sick and needy (though not regulars), and think it better charity to preserve a poor family from starving (of which so many thousands die in Popish countries), than to maintain an idle monk or nun, or to make a present to the Lady at Loretto, or offer candles and tapers to the image or saint of the town in which we live. We, by so bestowing our charity, both honour God and do good to men. They do neither, but do homage to a saint that neither knows them, nor receives any good by the honour which they give them.

It is indeed confessed, that our churches are not so adorned as they ought sometimes: but that is no fault of our Church, but of the iniquity of the times, and of those dissensions which they raise among us; but generally they are decently grave, and as well fitted to assist a devout mind without distraction, as can be. We love to have our churches neat and handsome, to shew we do not grudge whatever may be required to make them, in some measure, fit places for divine worship: but we see not any necessity of having them so splendidly rich and fine: we think it would rather divert men's minds from the business of the place, than assist them in the duties of it.

In short, in no part of charity can they pretend to exceed us, considering our circumstances, unless it be in that of prayer for the dead, when they hire so many masses to be said for them; but we think not this so much charity to the person deceased, as to the priest; for he doubtless receives most benefit from it.

Thirdly, And whatever they pretend, the great number of saints canonized and commemorated among them, is neither a sign of the good state and condition of their Church ; nor is their keeping so many holy days in remembrance of them, any instance of true devotion.

As for many of the saints which they commemorate, we own as well as they, and can pretend as good a right in them as they can, because we own, and will submit to whatever can be urged from them ; such are the blessed Virgin, the Apostles, and the Evangelists ; and after them also the bishops, martyrs, and confessors in the primitive Church : but we confess that we have not the same esteem of many, whom they commemorate as saints, and utterly disallow of their canonizing or sainting of them : for many of them (I believe) never had any being, but in the fancy of these saint-makers, who yet are commemorated and prayed to as well as any others. Such are St. Longinus, under which name they have made a man of the spear which pierced our Saviour's blessed body ; St. Almachius, on January 1st, which only comes from the corruption of Almanac ; St. Amphibalus, who was only St. Alban's cloak ; St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins, of whom no footsteps can be found in true history. Many of them, I fear, had been better that they had never been, as being notoriously vicious and scandalous in their lives. And others, though more innocent, yet if we believe what is written in their lives, were so prodigiously ridiculous, that a wise and religious man would be ashamed of such company. To hear men in an ecstacy of devotion to talk nonsense, or to preach to birds and beasts, to run naked, to wander voluntarily in deserts, &c. is more likely, with sober men, to bring their persons and actions into contempt and scorn, than to affect them with any quick sense of religion ; at best, it will excite men only to that ecstastical and enthusiastical kind of devotion, which was in vogue among the heathens, whose priests were beside themselves, when they spake in the name of their gods ; and their most celebrated exercises of religion were such kind of irrational actions ; but there is nothing of this at all countenanced under Christianity : for the Gospel would make us wise as well as devout ; and it is not required that we put off the man, but the old man and its vices, when we become Christians.

And though we are sensible of many among us that have been very exemplary for virtue and piety, and have no reason to doubt of their salvation, but have as full assurance of it, at

least, as they have of their saints ; yet we are very shy of canonizing or sainting of them, because we know not men's hearts, nor dare we to presume to dispose so absolutely of heaven, as the Pope doth. We thank God for those that have lived and died well among us, and exhort our people to imitate all the good which shewed itself in them ; but we know not to what purpose canonization is. If it be only to recommend their virtues to example, the canonization of them will signify no more than the bare history of their good lives, faithfully recorded, would do ; but if it be in order to praying to them, we utterly condemn it. And it is too plain that this is the end of their being canonized ; for from that time solemn prayer and invocation is allowed and offered up to them. And this I believe hath been an occasion of their falling from the truth of Christian doctrine as well as practice : for they taking such a man to be a saint, think themselves obliged to follow and vindicate whatever he either did or said, as holy and true, not considering that the best of mere men have been guilty of mistakes and imperfections ; and then much more may we suspect the judgment and understanding, the virtue and piety of many of those that fill up the bigger part of the Romish calendar.

And for the same reason we think there is not much religion or devotion expressed in the keeping up the memory of such saints, by so many holy days observed among them.

If they commend their holy days for the opportunities afforded in them of serving God in public, we have such conveniences in many places every day.

If they commend them as days set apart to rest and idleness, we are not altogether of their mind ; for we think we have as many as our poor can well spare, and are sure that they have more holy days than their poor can afford to observe : so that their holy days are no advantage to any. The rich need them not : because if they have abilities, they may be idle and luxurious every day : but they are a great evil and burden to the poor, when they are forced to lose so many days from their work, by which they should maintain themselves and their families. And though the popes, by reason of this cry of the poor, have been prevailed with to cut off many of those days of idleness ; yet still, in most places, the number of them is intolerable.

Fourthly, As for images, I should have thought it more proper to range them among the hindrances of devotion, did I not see the men of Rome to plead earnestly for them, as

helps and assistances, and to blame us for not using them, and paying no respect to them.

I confess myself not acute enough to discern how they can any ways advance devotion : for their paying such honour and respect to them, as they do own and acknowledge, must needs be a great distraction, it diverting the mind, and making men spend their religious reverence on that which is exposed to their view : but their paying such worship to them as they do pay, but are ashamed to own, is flatly destructive to all true devotion.

They indeed plead the ignorance of the people for the necessity of images, and call them the books of the unlearned : but they must first suppose their people insufferably ignorant to need such helps as these are. And to give the priests their due, if any ignorance would suffice to justify such a practice, they take care to keep their people in ignorance sufficient : and then if they are so ignorant that they cannot worship God without an image, the Church cannot be secure, but these so silly people may worship the image for God or Christ, or at least as having some extraordinary virtue in it, and so make an idol of it ; especially when they see the eyes and hands of the image to move, and see miracles wrought by the touch of it, as is frequently pretended and believed to be done : so that either there is no need of images, or great danger in the use of them.

I confess I am not of Mr. Baxter's mind, who thinks that they may be properly or safely used to excite devotion ; at least I must confess myself of a different temper from him. Methinks I represent God in greater majesty to myself, when I consider him in his works of creation and providence, than to see him pictured, as in the clouds, though with thunder in his hand. And my Saviour appears more lovely to my mind and thoughts, when I consider him as coming into the world, and dying for us, than when I see him pictured and carved on a crucifix : for it is more useful to see him with the eye of faith than of sense ; and it is not the proportion of his body represented to my eyes, but the dignity of his nature, the love that he bore me, and the passions of his soul for me, that I admire most, and which no pencil can draw.

Besides, a picture or image tells me nothing but what I knew before ; and it is by what I knew before, that I can make sense or any devout use of this picture ; for else I might take it for another profane and idle story. And I would fain

know, whether the reading considerably the 26th and 27th chapters of St. Matthew, will not affect any pious heart much more than the seeing and contemplating a picture. Certainly, if this will affect the sense and bodily passions, the other will more work on our reason, and that will be to better purpose. Nay, the seeing of any picture often will naturally make it familiar, and not at all affecting to us.

5. And if the severity of the monks to their bodies is not any great sign of devotion, much less can the austeries used by the common people, turn to any great commendation of the Church; it is true, they are forced to keep fasts, but it would make a man laugh to read how their casuists have defined concerning the *modus*, the measure and end of fasting. Escobar hath resolved it, “That no drink breaks a fast, be it wine or chocolate; and because it is not wholesome to drink without eating, you may eat two ounces of bread: for that is but a quarter of a meal; and if a man should chance to break his vow of fasting thus, he is not bound to fast another day for it, unless on a new obligation: and if all this be too hard, you may be dispensed with for your whole life, and that whether there be any just cause for it or no. Nay, servants, though they eat never so glutonously of the scraps, they break no fast.” Indeed there need be no rules set down concerning the poor people’s observing fasting days: they are kept low enough without them: and as for the rich, their fasting is mock fasting, to fast to luxury with wine, and fish, and sweat-meats. Is not this great self denial? If any therefore are still truly mortified, when they can thus help it, I must rather commend their own piety, and devout temper, than the rules and orders of their Church, which give so much liberty, that a man must have a very cross-grained appetite, or be in the highest degree sensual, not to be willing to comply with it. We find then no fault with fasting being enjoined, and at set seasons; for we ourselves commend and practise it; but let it not be to play tricks, but for true and real mortification, and for the proper ends of mortification, to humble the body to the soul, and to bring the mind to a better temper; and to these ends is fasting commanded by our Church; but not as if we looked on this or that kind of meat to be unholy, or designed to purchase heaven by our abstinence, as the Church of Rome doth.

6. And as for their pilgrimages, and worship of relics, they must needs have less pretence to religion: for their fasts, and

other austerities, somewhat resemble true Christian duties ; but these have no show that way. If pilgrimage be enjoined for penance, then there is no thanks due to the person performing it.

If it be voluntary, there is no true devotion in it : for the worth of it must consist in some of these reasons, *viz.* either, first, that God is more present, or, secondly, more propitious in one public place of worship than another ; both which are contrary either to the nature of God, or his declaration in Scripture, when he says, “In every place a pure offering shall be offered to him,” Mal. i. 11. And “wherever two or three are gathered together in Christ’s name, he is in the midst of them,” Matth. xviii. 20. And the teaching otherwise is in some measure to revive Judaism, which allowed God, as to some cases, to be served acceptably only in one place ; or, thirdly, that the saint is more present or propitious here, than any where else : but we are speaking of devotion to God, not to the saint ; or, fourthly, that it is their punishing themselves that is so acceptable ; but that hath been sufficiently discarded already : or, fifthly, that going so far, and taking such pains, is a sign of their love : but a man may shew his love to God, and to his saints too, by more proper instances, and do more good by it ; which God, to be sure, will better accept ; and the saint, if he be a saint, will like as well. And therefore the making such account of pilgrimages seems rather to favour the Mahometan, than the Christian religion : for the going on pilgrimage to Mecca, is one of the five indispensable points of the Mahometan superstition.

And as for the veneration of relics, all the world knows what a cheat is put on men, in vending any old rotten bone, or piece of cloth, &c. for a relic of this or that saint : so that according to a moderate computation, I suppose scarcely one in a hundred is true : and some have pleaded they need not be true. Now whatever devotion is performed to, or on occasion of these relics, can be commendable only in regard of the mind and devout temper of the person ; which I think might as acceptably shew itself in any other proper time and place : and there is required a long series of consequences before the sight of St. Joseph’s axe, or any such other of their reliques, can be pretended to raise a man’s devotion. But it being the chief trade at Rome to sell feigned pieces of antiquity, and other such worthless trinkets at a high rate, I the less wonder, that they have such an esteem for reliques ; for it is for their

profit to keep up the value of them, they being the principal commodities of the place.

7. And the belief which they have of the saints hearing them, and their practice of praying to them, is no proper encouragement or instance of true devotion : for all devotion is properly towards God, and therefore the making addresses to any other cannot possibly have any direct tendency to exalt our devotion to him, but is really a great hindrance ; for it takes men's minds off from God, and sets them on his creature : and the same time that is spent in prayer to them, surely is better spent in praying to God, who is more present with us, hears us better, and loves us more : and men's going to saints when God is present, naturally tends to provoke God's jealousy : for he declares himself jealous as to his worship particularly, to set them up in competition with God, and to create in men an opinion, that they are more easily entreated, and readier to do us a kindness than he is : and therefore though men may fear God more, yet they will rather love the saint ; and love is the truest motive to such devotion, as will be best accepted with God : and yet in this plainly consists all that court which they make to the Virgin Mary, that she would pacify the anger of God the Father, or of the Son, towards men : they are represented severe, and almost cruel, to render her more amiable to the people in her interceding for them : so they frequently, in their printed allowed books of devotion, call her "Fountain of mercy and pity," and other names of the like importance. Now all the assurance they have of her being so tender and compassionate, is only because she is a woman ; but they are assured of God's mercy, both from his nature and his word. They have no assurance that she, or any other saint, hears them ; nor can they shew how the saint can be rationally supposed to know everything that we do or say : but they are well assured that God hears them ; for he is styled "the God that heareth prayer ;" which prerogative of his, by every prayer to a saint, they may at least suspect that they entrench on. They are not assured that the saint can help them ; but they may be fully satisfied of his help, who is Almighty. They have no encouragement from Scripture for praying to saints : for though the angels rejoice at the repentance of a sinner, it doth not follow that therefore every concern of men is known, or prayer is heard by them ; much less that we may pray to them for the gift of repentance, or any other grace. And

prayer being so considerable a part of divine worship, we need not doubt but the angels and saints would refuse it : for so St. John was rebuked for offering to worship the angel, though supposed immediately and visibly with him, “worship God,” Rev. xix. 10.

So that if they prayed to saints and angels only to mediate and intercede for them to God, it is more than they have any warrant or allowance for, Christ being always represented as the mediator between God and man ; and the setting up of his servants in his office, is as far as is possible a deposing of him. Nor is it in this case, as it is in courts on earth (which is their common excuse), where a favourite is made use of to represent our cause and our request to the king : for this is done because our kings do not know our persons, nor understand our case, nor can they be present at all places, and hear all causes themselves : so that it is often necessary that princes should employ and trust other than their own eyes and ears. Many things they think below them to inquire particularly into ; and sometimes they will do that at the request of a favourite, which they would not do for the sake of a person that is not particularly known to them. But there is no room nor occasion for this in the court of heaven : for God is not only intimately known, but is immediately present to all his creatures, as he hath declared himself no respecter of persons, but to love all ; and therefore there is no need of any intercessor for us, except the Lord Jesus ; he affects not empty pomp and state, but his providence extends to every particular concern of the meanest of all his creatures ; and though he may give some undeserved favours, as longer lives, and further opportunities of amendment, &c. for the sake of others’ prayers ; yet no man is so far his favourite, as to be able to persuade him to reverse his own laws, and to save a wicked person that continues in his wickedness. On all which accounts, there is no occasion of praying to the saints so much as to intercede for us, as the Church of Rome pretends. But to pray to them to bless us, and give us this or that temporal or spiritual good, as they of the Church of Rome practise, and to suppose them to have power to help us in this or that particular difficulty and distemper, is plainly intolerable : for this is in a great measure to revive heathenism, by which men worshipped this or that god for this or that particular case. They must grant the saint to have, though not an original, yet a most certain and derivative power, according to which

he will not fail to assist them that worship him ; and in all such prayer, methinks they even terminate their worship on the saint ; for if I pray to a saint to help me in this or that difficulty, with a full assurance that this saint hath sufficient power to help me, though I should grant that this saint received this power from God, yet my prayers terminate on the saint. Indeed, the saint is obliged to God for that power ; but I seem to own myself only obliged to the saint for his applying this his general power to my particular case : just as I am obliged to a man for giving me an estate, though he is beholden to the government and laws, that either he enjoyed that estate himself, or was empowered to give it to another.

Besides that, they often pray to saints for such things, which, if they be only creatures, they can have no power to give, or to be even so much as the instruments of conveying to us ; and yet it is notorious, they pray sometimes to the saints for grace, for pardon of sins, and strength against them. So in Bonaventure's Psalter,* translated into Italian, and published for the use of the people, though the translator and publisher says, that he had purged it from the blasphemies which were in the former editions ; yet we find such passages as these to the Virgin Mary, Psalm vii : "Come to her all ye that are heavy laden, and she shall give rest and refreshment to your souls." Psalm xl : "Cleanse my heart." Psalm xli : "Thou art the beginning and the end of my salvation." Psalm xliv : "By thy holiness my sins are purged, and by thy integrity, incorruptibility is given to me." Psalm civ : "Eternal salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, and he that worthily honoureth thee, shall obtain it :" and many more sayings of this nature, or worse if possible. Now can any man say, that such prayers as these are fit to be offered up to a creature, or that they are instances of the devotion of a Christian, when they are so offered ? I am sure that we charge the heathen with giving divine worship to men, though we can hardly find any expressions or prayers to their gods, which are so high, and argue their terminating their worship on them so fully as these and other such, which are commonly used by those of the Church of Rome to saints, and especially to the Virgin Mary.

8. And whatever they pretend, the constant trade which they make of confessions and penances, and their doctrine

* Salmi di S. Bonav. in Lode della virgine, per Giovan. Battista Pinello. In Genoa, Anno 1606. [See also works of Bonaventure, Vatican edition, and "Tributo Quotidiano," Rome, 1844.]

concerning them, is so far from encouraging devotion, that it is enough to destroy all true devotion out of the world, if the providence of God did not miraculously interpose.

For though they be very constant in their confessions of all their sins to a priest, yet the frequency of it in themselves and others, makes them not so much as ashamed of themselves; and though they may be more afraid of angering their priests, yet they have no reason to abhor themselves or their sins, in the sight of God, any more for it.

And when they have thus confessed, their confessor may enjoin what penance he pleaseth, or else may leave it to the penitent's own choice, as Escobar from Suarez affirms; and men are not used to be very cruel to their own bodies, or lay a very severe penance on themselves, when a lighter will serve: or else the confessor may say thus: "I impose on thee for penance whatever good thing thou hast done, or shalt do this day, or this week, or whatever evil thou hast or shalt suffer." And Cardinal Tolet is of the same mind too. Now will not this make a man mightily afraid of sinning any more, when his ordinary course of conversation, and the unavoidable casualties of life shall be turned into a sufficient penance, satisfaction and punishment for his sin? And if the confessor enjoin no penance at all, indeed he is to blame, says Escobar; but still it is a sacrament for all that, because a satisfactory penance is not an essential part of the sacrament, but an integral.

But if after all this, the confessor will impose a penance, the penitent may perform what he will of it: "For," says Tolet, "if he doth not perform his penance, his absolution stands good, only when he comes to confession next, he must confess that he did not perform his penance, and so his non-performance of penance will pass away in the crowd of his other sins, and there is an end of it." And if this please them not, there is an easier way still, if need be; for you may get another man to do your penance for you. Is not this a fine easy way to heaven, when the fasting and starving of the poor may be made to serve for a satisfaction for the sins and debauchery of the rich? Indeed Escobar from Suarez, says, "There ought to be a just cause for one's performing penance for another." But here the other distinction will help them, *non ad valorem, sed ad justitiam requiritur causa*, the penance is valid, though there be no just cause. And whether there be a cause or no, it is not doubted, says Escobar, but one may perform the penance for another, if the confessor will give leave: and

it is to be hoped there are some good-natured confessors to be found. But good Cardinal Tolet* is more free and generous than Escobar himself in this point: for he tells the confessor, "That he must impose a lighter penance, if he sees the penitent will not perform a harder," without ever telling the penitent, that this lighter will not serve his turn; or without ever putting him in mind of his danger, or the necessity of a harder penance; and wholly commits it to the prudence of one priest to diminish the penance which another had imposed, without so much as once telling him, that perhaps this penance will not suffice. So that in plain terms, by consequence, he resolves it all into the power of the priest; and neither confessor nor penitent are any further accountable, that I perceive, if too slight a penance be enjoined, the sin is pardoned notwithstanding. And lastly, he goes on and shews that though the penitent be enjoined to perform his penance in his own person, yet he may transfer this to another, without his confessor's leave; and yet he shall obtain the satisfactory part of penance, though not the meritorious, that is, he shall be excused from suffering evil; but shall not merit much at God's hand by such penance: and indeed I think he is very unreasonable if he expect more. And besides all this, the design of all penance being only to satisfy the debt of temporal punishment due to their sins, there are several easy ways provided by their Church for the discharge of it, besides the severe penance; as *e. g.* several short prayers, to the saying of which, some scores of thousands of years' pardon are annexed, *toties quoties*: there are large indulgences granted at jubilees, and at several other good times: and may at any time be had for a good sum of money: and if a man take no care of himself all his life, yet if he can purchase prayers to be said for him after his death, it will serve as well. And though the penance be never so easy, and be performed as triflingly; yet the absolution, by which they suppose the debt of eternal punishment is discharged, must be as complete and full as possible: for so the afore-named cardinal, with a great deal of concern, takes care that the absolution be not pronounced conditionally, as *e. g.* on condition that you amend your life, or perform your penance, &c. but it must be pronounced absolutely, without any *if* or *and*, thus, "I absolve thee."

Now would not any one think, that the Church of Rome,

* Tolet. Instruct. Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 11. [p. 349. col. 2. Colon. 1621.]

by this method of confessions and penances so taught and practised among them, rather designs to find out the temper and inclinations of people, and to dive into the counsels of great men, or to answer some other such politic end, than to advance piety towards God, or amendment of life in the penitent? I am sure they can have no hearty respect for devotion, when they are taught to look on their prayers to God, as a severe penance; and yet which they may be released from, by winning a game at cards, as is too commonly known.

9. And their doctrine concerning the merit of good works and supererogation, as it is false, so we cannot look on it as any encouragement to devotion; for God will not be served with a lie.

I confess, if what is required of men in their confessions and penances, be enough to save their souls, they may very easily do more than is required; for they cannot do less, if they do any thing; though indeed one would wonder, that any that consider the nature of the Gospel, or the words of our Saviour, should ever pretend to supererogate.

But supposing their doctrine to be true in these points, they cannot be thought to advance devotion, but rather hinder it; for seeing it is somewhat natural for a man to love his own ease, every one will be apt to argue with himself, that so many have merited already, that there is no need of what he can do. Nay, it is folly for him to attempt it; for what need he endeavour to add to a stock of merit, which is already infinite, as some have thought?

And indeed it had need be infinite, else it is to be feared it is almost, if not quite spent; especially considering the vast expense of these merits in frequent jubilees, and other indulgences, the multitude of sinners, and the little extraordinary virtue and piety found among them at this day, to add to their store: so that methinks it may justly be questioned, whether they are not bankrupt before now, their disbursement so much exceeding their receipts; and the credit of their bank seems to depend wholly on their old stock of merit which the ancients laid up for them; and yet they grant this was rather casual, than out of design or good-nature: for the saints designed only to make sure of doing enough for themselves; and it seems that less served their turns than they thought of, and the rest was laid by for the use of such rich sinners as the Church would sell it to. So that all this stock of merit, which the Church of Rome hath so great occasion for, and of which

there is made so prodigious an expense, is at the best but a chance and a spare-heap, which they cannot tell how they came by (for every bishop hath the same title to such treasure-trove that the Bishop of Rome hath), nay, they have reason to fear there was never any such treasure : (for I doubt not but the saints in heaven will thankfully own, that they have received more from God than they deserved, or could challenge.) To be sure they knew not how much there was ever laid up, nor whether the stock be spent ; and yet they spend as freely now, as if they had been only laying up till this time, and that the treasure were now first opened.

Many other such absurdities and unanswerable difficulties there are in their doctrine of merit, and in their practice of applying these merits to the use of others. And is it not a dismal thing, that the priests of the Church of Rome should teach men to trust in, and as to salvation, depend assuredly on these, of which they themselves have no manner of assurance nor ground to hope ? Is not this to play with men's souls and eternal salvation ? And especially can this be urged as an encouragement of devotion, when, if it were as true as it is false, it tends directly to make men vicious, and to neglect devotion : for so a man will think, if there be such a stock in the Church, why should not he have a share of it as well as another ? And if one can merit for another, why should not he depend on others, as well as they on his merits ? And seeing merits may be bought, as the Roman casuists have adjudged, he may think it very reasonable, that others' merits should be given him in exchange for his money. So the result of all is this, according to this doctrine, and the supposed church-stock, only one thing is needful, and that is money ; and this will fully make up all lack of piety and devotion.

10. And the belief of purgatory, and of the validity of prayers for the dead, is no proper encouragement of true devotion : for true devotion is such as we perform to God, agreeably to his will, when we know what we do, and for what ends, and have a promise or hope of success : but when a man prays to God to deliver a soul out of purgatory, he must suppose as true several things, which are either false, or at least very uncertain ; so that he can never pray in faith, or without great perplexity and distraction of mind ; for he knows not whether there be any such place or state as purgatory : for Scripture says nothing of it, nor the Fathers of the three or four first centuries. He knows not whether the soul that he

prays for be in purgatory (if there should be such a place), for it may be in heaven or in hell for ought he can tell. And if the soul be in purgatory, he knows not whether it be useful or lawful to pray for it ; for God hath given us neither command, nor encouragement, nor liberty so to do. Nay, there are several particulars, which they themselves cannot agree on concerning purgatory, *viz.* What sins are punished there ? How the soul without its body can be tormented there with a material fire ? Who are God's instruments in punishing the souls there ? for the devils are not : and how the Pope, by his indulgences, can apply the satisfactions of Christ and of the saints, so as to deliver any soul out of purgatory ? And if there be such a place, the Pope himself, by his example, doth enough to dishearten all men from endeavouring to deliver the souls of their friends from thence : for it is not doubted but he can deliver all out of purgatory, he having the command of the treasure of the Church. And it must needs be a wonderful discouragement to a devout mind, that among so many hundred popes, there should not be one found so charitable as to release so many thousands of poor souls that lie under intolerable pains, and so must lie till the last day, or till the debt of their temporal punishment be paid. If the Pope can do so much with so little charge or trouble to himself, and yet will not do it, surely I have less reason to do anything.

Nor doth it follow, that because it is a part of acceptable devotion, for one man to pray for another, whilst living here on earth ; that therefore it is as pleasing to God for us to pray for souls departed : for our prayers for others on earth, are either for temporal blessings, or for the means of grace. We pretend not to desire God to reverse his own laws, and save such a man, let him be as bad as he will ; but to make him holy first, and then to make him happy. And to pray any otherwise for another man, naturally tends to represent it as feasible to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven ; but when a man is dead, he can work no more, nor make any use of the means of grace, and therefore there is no room for this prayer to God for him ; he is not capable of repentance, and glory, and amendment, and of being made fit for heaven.

Lastly, If they boast of the validity of the orders of their bishops and priests, as an encouragement to devotion, the validity of the sacraments depending so much on the legality of the ministry : we answer, that we have a clergy as properly and truly of Christ's sending, as any Church in the world ;

against whose ordination and mission nothing can be objected : we deriving the succession of our bishops, not only from their own Austin, but from the British bishops before his time, which is the only regular way of mission that we know of, except that of an extraordinary commission from heaven, as St. Paul had. And I would not that there were that to be objected against us, that is justly objected against them, as to the succession of their Popes, even since the Reformation began : for the election of Sixtus V. was most notoriously simoniacial ; and yet one that comes by simony into the Papedom, is by their own canon law, by the bull or constitution of Julius II. approved in the Council of Lateran,* an. 1513, "to be looked on as a magician, heathen, publican, and arch-heretic, and his election can never be made valid by any after act ;" and yet several of the Popes since, were either made cardinals by this Sixtus V., or received that dignity from those that received it from him ; which is the very case of this present Pope Innocent XI.

As for their unity, it is plain that they have more divisions among themselves, than they can charge us with : for they have not only such as openly dissent and separate from them, but great and violent dissensions among their own members, and such as live in the communion of their Church, one against another, and each party pleads the doctrine of the Church, and decisions of its Councils. And yet the Pope himself, notwithstanding his infallibility and authority, either cannot or dare not determine which is in the right, or which opinion is true.

So that whatever power and authority their Church hath, it hath no good effect to such ends and purposes, to which Church-power is designed to serve, the encouragement of holiness and virtue, and the discountenancing of vice, the preservation of the doctrine in purity, and of the members at peace one with another. It is true, they are more able to see the laws of their Church duly executed ; but it is to their disparagement to have so much power, and yet to do so little good with it. As for us, we had rather deserve more than we have, than that it should be said that we have more power than we deserve. And whatever power our Church wants, and whatever loss religion suffers by this means, we justly charge the Church of Rome with the guilt of it, who have made all princes jealous, and afraid of all Church-power, by

* Septimi Decretal. lib. 1. tit. 3.

their invading their temporal rights under pretence of a spiritual jurisdiction.

In short, though somewhat may be said for the worst thing; and a very bad cause may have a great deal pleaded in its vindication, as we have seen in all the foregoing helps and instances of devotion, which the Church of Rome boasts of ; yet if we consider them, they all, in some respect or other, come short of what they pretend to ; several of them being very improper, many plainly nonsensical and ridiculous ; they proceed from bad principles, are done in an undue manner and measure, or to secure some bad end or design, or some such other way offend ; even the most severe practices, which most resemble true self-denial, are countenanced or enjoined, rather to make a show, or to gratify some tempers, than to advance devotion ; for excesses and over-actings are often infirmities and the effects of weakness ; steadiness being the most certain sign of strength, as the shaking palsy is a disease and sign of weakness, as well as the dead one.

3. I now come to consider such things in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome, as tend directly to promote debauchery of manners, and carelessness in devotion.

I will insist only on these few, among very many.

First, The unlimited power which they ascribe to the Church, or to the Pope, as head or monarch of it : for the people are taught, that he can make null duties that were made necessary by God, and make necessary what was not so before. The consequence of which doctrine is plainly this, that a man may safely disobey and neglect the serving of God, if he pay but his due respects to the Pope. And yet their casuists have defined, that the Pope can dispense with sins, or give leave to do things forbidden by the law of God, as well as pardon them when committed, as in the dispensations with unlawful marriages. And on the other side, he can excuse them from doing what they are, by their duty to God, bound to do, as in his dispensations with vows, though made never so solemnly to God himself. That is, he can bind where God hath left us loose, and he can loose where God hath bound us. Nay, a superior can give a dispensation, even when he doubteth whether it be lawful or no ; because in a doubtful case, the milder side is to be taken. And if the reason ceaseth for which the dispensation was given, yet the dispensation doth not cease : nay, a dispensation may be granted where there is no reason or cause for it ; and yet the dispensation is valid

notwithstanding: and not the Pope only, but every bishop and priest hath his share of this power, only there are some reserved, and more profitable cases, which his Holiness only can dispense in. And though I cannot tell what they think, yet I am sure their casuists are very shy of saying, that there is any case, in which there may not be a dispensation granted for the doing of it, or a pardon for it when it is done.

And all indulgences are directly designed to hinder devotion, for they are given to free men from the necessity of mortification, frequent alms and prayers, &c. which else would have been enjoined as penance; and yet we know that these are the chiefest parts of devotion.

And as their general doctrine concerning the validity of pardons and indulgences is very destructive of all true piety and religion: so,

Secondly, Their constant practice of giving absolution before penance, is in a more especial manner influential to that purpose: for the people are taught to believe, that by the priest's saying, I absolve thee, &c. the sin is actually pardoned by God: and though indeed their guides of confessors advise, that absolution should not be given till penance be imposed and accepted; yet when the confessor thinks that the penitent will accept of the penance, he may absolve him first: that is, the person may be absolved before he accept the penance, or even promise to perform it; but it is their constant method to absolve him before penance be actually performed.

Now if their absolution be of force, the person is free from his sin, and sure enough of heaven, whether he performs any penance or no: which practice gives all imaginable encouragement and license to sin; the fear of penance being the only restraint from sin, which they pretend to: but if the sin be fully pardoned before penance be accepted or performed, I see not why a man should trouble himself much for the performance of his penance; he sees plainly that it is only an appendix that is used to be annexed to absolution, but is neither necessary in itself, nor for absolution; the sin is pardoned already, and at the worst there is only some temporal punishment to be satisfied for, which he may get rid of several other ways.

Nay, indeed, the true and ancient notion of penance is utterly destroyed, by its being imposed and performed after absolution: for penance, according to the primitive use of it, was a severe course of life prescribed to a person that had grievously offended,

as a proper method for him, at the same time to testify his own sorrow for his sin, and abhorrence of it, and to create in him an aversion to the like for the time to come ; and also to satisfy the Church of all this, that so he might be admitted to absolution and the communion : and therefore their penances were always public, and indeed it is by public penance only, that all these so good ends can possibly be answered : but now in the Church of Rome, the offender is pardoned without any thing of this ; he is not put to any grief for his sin before he be absolved. It is left wholly to his own honesty and generosity, whether he will perform any penance for his sin. Nay indeed so loath are they to appear severe against sin, or cruel to the sinner, that when in the Council of Trent some would have revived this discipline, by enacting public penance, they were violently opposed and overruled ; though St. Gregory, a Pope of Rome, had held it to be of divine right ; and their casuists since teach, that a confessor cannot, nor ought not to enjoin a public penance : so that by this means a man is not so much as to be put to the blush for his sins ; for no such penance must be imposed, by which the sin may be known, and he is sure that the confessor, to save a kingdom, dare not reveal or discover it.

Thirdly, Their doctrine concerning the nature of several sins, is such as must rather encourage men to continue in sin, than deliver us from it ; and will spoil all true devotion to God, and that due regard that we ought to have to his commandments.

They* tell us there is a vast number of sins in their own nature venial, which are so very inconsiderable, that an infinite number of them altogether will not deprive a man of the grace and favour of God, or make up one mortal sin, and for the pardon of which there is no need or occasion for the mercy of God : and yet they have no certain rules to discover whether a sin be mortal or venial ; so that men are in wonderful danger of being cheated in a matter of so great moment as their eternal salvation.

They† tell us also, that an habitual sin is only a stain left by former voluntary sins, and a deprivation of habitual goodness ; but hath nothing else that is evil in it. From which doctrine it necessarily follows, that a man is guilty only of

* Escobar. Tract. 2. Exam. 1. cap. 4. [p. 268. Lugd. 1659.]

† Escobar. Tract. 2. Exam. 1. cap. 2. [Ibid. p. 266.]

those sins which created this habit ; and that there is not an habitual repentance, or course of life required to get pardon for habitual sins ; but a few, or perhaps one single act of contrition will serve. So that the more a man sinneth, the better he may, and it is a piece of true prudence to get an habit of all sin betimes ; for a man is accountable only for those sins which preceded the habit ; all the sins which follow it, will pass under the name of inadvertencies, and as such can be esteemed only as a kind of venial sins.

And they not only allow the Church power to command what doth not belong to her in many cases, but give such authority to her commands, as to make the disobedience to them the greatest of all sins, and make way for the breaking of the laws of God, that they may keep those of the Church. So marriage hath been adjudged a greater sin in a priest, than fornication, because the priests are obliged to celibacy by the laws of the Church, and their own vow ; as if they were not, by the laws of God, and their vow of baptism, more obliged to abstain from fornication ; and accordingly, for marriage, a priest is excommunicated or deposed ; but for fornication, he is only obliged to confess it secretly among his other sins ; and the guilt and irregularity of it is done away by absolution. Indeed they bring almost all sins under the head of discipline, not only by pretending to give pardon and dispensations for most sins that can be committed ; but also when they compare sins, they are always most earnest against such as transgress the commands of the Church. So *v. g.* when Escobar asks the question, “What if I communicate unworthily at Easter ?” he answers, “that by so doing, I fulfil the command of the Church, which is what I am immediately bound to :” and passeth over the duty of self-examination and preparation so strictly enjoined by St. Paul, as not worthy to be considered ; and so in innumerable other cases ; by which means indeed they create a great veneration for the Church, or for that which they call the Church ; but thereby make the commands of God of none effect.

Fourthly, Their very doctrine concerning their prayers and devotions, and their practice consequent on it, is such as is altogether inconsistent with the nature of true devotion : for, according to the Church of Rome, the outward act will suffice in many cases, though nothing of the mind go along with it ; particularly as to prayers, Escobar from Coninch and Durandus affirms, that neither an actual nor a virtual attention is required

when a man prayeth ; and they give an excellent reason for what they say, *viz.* “ because the Church hath no power in hidden cases, but only in the case of auricular confession :” as if in prayer, only the power of the Church, and obedience to its commands, were to be regarded : and he confirmeth his assertion with this other most cogent comparison, that an outward act of devotion, or prayer only with the mouth, is a true act of prayer, though without the intention, as an outward act of adoration of an idol, though without the intention, is a true act of idolatry. So that for a man to mind what he doth when he is at prayers, or to be earnest in his desires of that which he prayeth for, though it may possibly be a commendation and accomplishment, yet it is not necessary, either to the pleasing of God, or satisfying of his duty, according to the Church of Rome. Nay, it is a praise for a man to “ draw nigh with the mouth, and honour him with the lips, though the heart be far from God ;” notwithstanding that our Saviour, after the prophet Isaiah, blamed the Jews for so doing. Indeed, such a kind of superficial Christians will this doctrine make, that a Pharisee would have been an excellent man, if he had lived in these days.

And pursuant to this doctrine of the no-necessity of attention at prayers, they take care that the people shall not be able to attend to what is done ; and therefore provide, that the public prayers and the Scripture itself, shall be only in a language unknown to the people, and are so desperately fond of this device of keeping the people ignorant of what is prayed for, that their casuists have defined, that a man may say his office privately in other languages besides the Latin, as in Hebrew or Greek, but not in the vulgar language ; at the same time keeping the people in ignorance, and discouraging them in their devotions, and exercising their authority over them in the most dangerous manner that can be.

6. Their ascribing spiritual effects to several things, which are purely of their own invention, is much to the discouragement of true devotion towards God. And yet they have very many things of this nature ; as holy water, by the being sprinkled with which, they believe the devils shall have less power over them : Agnus Dei’s, swords and medals, which they wear to preserve them from dangers ; which being consecrated according to the rules of their Church, have, through the devotion of the persons, and the power of the Church, a wonderful good effect, though indeed God never promised any such thing.

To this head I may refer also their Rosary, which is nothing else but an odd combination of Pater-nosters and Ave-Marys : several short prayers, to the saying of which thousands of years of pardon of sins are annexed : their carrying the image of St. Genoveva in procession at Paris, and other images in other places to obtain rain, &c. and innumerable other such-like practices, on which men are taught to rely, and to expect great good by, though they have neither any natural force or efficacy that way, nor any assurance from God that such effects shall follow. Nay, even the sacraments themselves, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, are only such a kind of charms ; for they are supposed to work effectually on the person, without any devotion or virtuous disposition being required of him in order to it.

Now whatever effect they promise above what the natural efficacy of the thing is apt and able to produce, they must have express authority from God, or else they sadly delude and cheat those poor souls that depend upon them : and at the best they are supposed only a shorter cut to heaven, an easier way of pleasing God, and getting his blessing, and are invented only to ease a man of the fatigue and trouble of the common and ordinary road of serving Him by a constancy and regularity of devotions.

Seventhly, Their manuals and books of devotion, which they give their people to read, instead of the Scripture, which they forbid to be used, though they may design them as helps, yet I must range them among the hindrances of devotion.

For the best of them are so full of tautologies and vain repetitions, that they must needs come under the censure of our blessed Saviour, Matth. vi. though they use his own holy name. For so in the Jesus Psalter, at the end of the Manual of Prayers and Litanies printed at Paris in English, ann. 1682, in a litany of fifteen petitions, the name Jesu is repeated over above 130 times. And in the same book, in the Litany of the blessed Virgin, they pray to her by forty several names, being only so many distinct praises of her : and the like is observable in all their books of devotion which I ever saw. Now their saying the same thing so often over, is not contrived to help and assist attention, or prevent distraction, or as a repetition of what is more than ordinarily important, or for any other good and prudent reason, but out of pure vanity and ostentation, or as it were even to flatter our blessed Saviour, or the saint which they pray to.

But most of the books and legends which they put into the hands of their people to excite their devotion, and by which the people take an estimate of the Christian religion, are such wretched plain forgeries, and so pitifully contrived fables, as can never be believed by men of sense ; and if they could be believed, are proper indeed to make men mad and enthusiastical, but not to advance true devotion ; and he that reads only such books, is qualified indeed to tell stories, and to believe lies, but no serious truth will stick to him, or be valued by him. So that such books as these are so far from doing good, that they do much harm to religion ; for they imprint a wrong notion of religion on men's minds ; would make a man believe that God is like a child, pleased with trifles ; that religion, and the method of our salvation, is only a charm and trick, which the priests have gotten the receipt of ; but that there is nothing in Christianity fit to make a man wise and manly in his worship of God, or in the management of himself and practice of devotion. Nay, the stories which are told in the lives of their saints, and believed by the common people, are enough to deprave the natural sentiments of mankind concerning God and religion ; so that perhaps it were much better to leave men to the natural effluxes of their own minds, than to pretend to assist them with such helps as these. That a little water, or a consecrated bell, should scare the devil, or St. Francis's rope charm and bind him, would make a man have little fear of such an enemy, or a prodigious veneration for such a saint ; but how it should render a man more piously affected toward God, more relying on his providence, or more religiously careful over himself, I see not. And these stories, though so apparently false, yet being affirmed with such confidence, strike at the very foundation of our religion : for it is apt to make men believe, that Christianity itself was at first propagated among a sad, dull, stupid, and credulous generation of men (when as really it first appeared in an age as sharp-sighted as any age before or since, which is much for its vindication). It would tempt a man to despise a religion, in which such men are saints, and such practices commended ; and will set Christianity but on the same level with modern Judaism and Mahometism ; for the Jews have just as much to say for their Cabbala, and the Turks for their incredible fables ; for they are reported on the same credit, are just so credible in themselves, and just as edifying of the people that attend to them : the miracles which they relate being often just so useful, as that pretended to be

wrought in the temple of Apollo ; when a man coming out of the temple, it was observed that his body did not cast any shadow ; by which thing, however strange in itself, the man was not much the better, nor the world wiser.

But many of their books of devotion are worse than ridiculous ; for there are frequently such passages and prayers as I cannot tell how to vindicate from blasphemy and idolatry. Saint Bonaventure's Psalter, both in Latin and Italian, I mentioned before ; in which there are, I believe, a thousand such prayers to the blessed Virgin, or expressions concerning her, which, I confess, I could not with a safe conscience say of any creature. And Albertus Magnus, the master of St. Thomas Aquinas, hath not only twelve books of the praises of the Virgin Mary, but also a distinct book called *Biblia Mariana* ; in which he applies several places of Scripture to the Virgin Mary, as if she were prefigured in several passages of the Old Testament, as well as her Son : so Gen. i. 1, "that she was that heaven that God made." Gen. i. 3, "she was the light which God there made ;" and so on through almost the whole Scripture : and however cautious they are in the books which they print in English, for the use of their converts here ; yet in them we find often such sayings to or of the Virgin Mary, as I cannot reconcile with Christianity ; for so in the manual quoted before, in the prayers for women with child, they sing thus to her :—

“ Hail to the Queen, who reigns above,
Mother of clemency and love,” &c.

Elsewhere they pray thus to her, pag. 196, “ O blessed Mother, assist my weakness in all my dangers and necessities, in all temptations to sin, and in the hour of my death, that through thy protection I may be safe in the Lord.” Where the Lord indeed is mentioned out of compliment, and for fashion's sake ; but they had first begged of the Lady as much as they wanted, or could desire : and pag. 80, they call her “ Spouse of the Holy Ghost, Promise of the Prophets, Expectation of the Patriarchs, Queen of the Angels, Teacher of the Apostles, Strengthener of Martyrs, Faithful Comforter of the Living and Dead.” Now if they print such things in English, what do they print in Spanish ? “ If they do such things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry ?” And I fear, that even their nicest casuists give too much countenance to this so gross practice : for they have determined, that honours above civil, *cultus hyperdulieæ*, are due to the Virgin Mary ; that is, in

plain English, divine honours must be paid to her : for it must be a very metaphysical head, that can, in this sense, apprehend a kind of honour above civil, and yet not divine ; it must be somewhat like his, that would pretend to find a mean between creator and creature, between finite and infinite.

Lastly ; this is most notorious, that they enjoin acts to be used, and propose objects of worship, which they themselves cannot deny but there is danger of offending in them, and even of falling into idolatry ; and yet take little or no care of giving caution concerning them ; and if the grossest abuse should happen, there is scarcely any possibility of redress.

Indeed wherever they speak of veneration due to relics and images, of worshipping saints, and especially the Virgin Mary, they always seem as if they cared not how much honour were paid to them ; only they must make as if they put some restriction on it, for the sake of the Reformed, who would exclaim against them : and therefore their command for the worshipping of them is general and absolute ; but the limitations are so nice and forced, that one may easily see, that they very unwillingly deny any worship to be paid to them. For so the wary Council of Trent, speaking of images, says, they are to be kept, and due honour and veneration paid to them : and though by and by they seem as if they would limit this honour, yet presently they put in such words, as make that pretended limitation to signify nothing : for they tell you, that whatever honour you pay to the image, goes to the persons represented (*v. g.* to our Saviour), it seems the honour is paid to him, whether we intend so or no. And hence you may easily gather, what honour is due to the image of our Saviour, and how little fear there is of paying too much honour to it ; for I suppose we are all agreed there is no fear of paying too much honour to our blessed Saviour ; and whatever honour is paid to his image, is paid to him, if we can believe these gentlemen. And agreeably hereunto, it is very rare to hear of any person censured or blamed for paying too much honour to images, though surely it is as possible for men to be idolaters now, as in the former ages ; and I suppose, that neither the common people, nor all the priests, are men of such extraordinary understanding and learning, as to be altogether free from the like temptation. Nay, the caution which is given, seems only to concern, *Imagines falsi dogmatis, et rudibus periculoso erroris occasionem præbentes* : but there is not one word concerning the abuse which may be made of the image of Christ, or of a true saint :

there is no provision made, that men be warned not to perform too much devotion in their minds to a good image.

And by what this Council says, the priest understands well enough what it intends ; and therefore scarcely ever dare preach against the excess and abuse of images, relics, &c. though they cannot but see it actually committed every day.

And now if there should happen to be any idolatrous worship paid to an image ; though the bishop hath power indeed to set the image up, yet he hath not power to pull it down, or to correct any abuse concerning it, without the leave of the archbishop, and other bishops of the province, and even of the Pope himself. So unwilling do they seem that any provision should be made for redressing abuses in so great and common a case, as the excess in worship of images must needs be. *V. Concil. Trid. sess. 25.*

Lastly, As we have seen how deficient and very faulty the Church of Rome is in her pretences to devotion, we will now consider what provision is made for the due exercise of devotion among ourselves ; that we may thank God for our being settled in the communion of the Church of England, and may learn to be conscientiously strict and regular in our own, as well as to despise the Romish devotions : and in order hereunto, I reckon that these four things are especially to be regarded.

First, That among us none but the true object of devotion is proposed to be worshipped, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, none of the most blessed angels or saints in heaven being ever invoked or adored by us. For we look on them only as our brethren, and members of the same Church with us, triumphing indeed whilst we are here below still in our warfare. We thank God for them, and keep feasts in memory of them, at the same time praising God for his goodness and grace bestowed on them, and shining forth in them, and also stirring up ourselves by such commemorations to follow their good example, and this we think is as much as is due from us to our fellow-creatures, and believe that neither God allows, nor do they expect more from us.

Secondly, Only proper expressions of devotion are commanded or allowed by our Church. For the matter of them, they are such as God himself hath required to be served by, are significant of that disposition of mind, which we know God accepts, and have an aptness to the producing of that temper in us, which God intends to work us up to by them : we use all the instances of devotion, which they of the Church of

Rome use, if they be either necessary or fit, though indeed often to other and better purposes. We pray constantly, but only for the living ; for we look on the dead as past the means of grace, and consequently past the benefit of our prayers. We praise God for his excellencies in himself, and thank him for his goodness to others, as well as to ourselves. We practise confession of sins to God in public and in private, and advise it to be made also to the ministers of God's word, when it is necessary for ghostly counsel and advice, for the satisfying of men's consciences, and the removal of scruple and doubtfulness ; but we cannot say it is necessary to be made to men, in order to the pardon of God. We reckon it rather as a privilege or advantage, than a duty ; and if men will not make use of this privilege as often as there is occasion, unless we tell a lie to advance the credit of it, we cannot help that. We enjoin fastings, and disallow not of penances, but advise people to take an holy revenge on themselves when they have sinned ; but not as the Papists do, to satisfy for their sins, or merit at God's hand, but to shew the sincerity of their repentance, and to strengthen their resolutions of amendment ; for it is our amendment, and not our punishment, which God is pleased with. And we take care that all these things be performed in a due measure, proportionably to the strength of the person, and the nature and design of the duty ; but are afraid of straining them too high, lest men should be altogether deterred from them, or acquiesce only in the outward action, or render ourselves and our cause ridiculous by an imprudent management. We have the sacraments duly administered as our Saviour commanded them : we reckon our baptism with water perfect without oil or spittle : we grudge not the cup to the laity, nor celebrate solitary communions, nor admire whispering to God in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ ; but as we have received from Christ, so we teach and administer, without addition or diminution of anything essential or material. In short, in the holy offices themselves, and the behaviour which our Church requires they be celebrated with, there is always a great propriety observable, agreeable to the command of God in Scripture, and the practice of the Apostles and first ages of the Church, proper to the several parts of divine worship, expressive of our sense, consonant to reason, and the use of the world, especial respect being always had to the exciting of piety and devotion in the minds and carriage of our people.

Thirdly, All useful helps, motives, and occasions, are here plentifully afforded and pressed on men. For we not only have all our service in a language which the meanest people understand, but have it so contrived by frequent responses, that every person bears a part in that worship which he is so much concerned in ; and doth not only hear the priest speak to God Almighty, but prays for himself, and is required to join his assent to every short prayer by a distinct Amen. With us the same service and rules of life are enjoined to all, all men having the same concern in another life, however different their circumstances and concerns are in this life. We have constant prayers in every parish weekly at least, in many daily, with the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ frequently administered ; nay, every Sunday not only in cathedrals, but in several colleges and private parish churches. And we appeal to all men, whether there be any where more practical sermons, fitted to the cases of men, without vanity and superstition, than among us : whether good and free learning be any where more encouraged, or where better care is taken for the due instruction of the people ; the Scriptures being in every one's hands with us, and other excellent books made according to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, instead of legends and lives of saints, St. Bonaventure's Psalter, and other such books, which are really libels against Christianity, and yet are the principal books which the priests of the Church of Rome commend to their people : for as for the Bible, if any one of them hath happened to read in it, who is not licensed to that purpose, he must own it as a sin to his priest at his next confession.

And as there are such blessed opportunities afforded so constantly, and such prudent provision made for all cases ordinary and extraordinary ; so I thank God, we can say that our people are generally very diligent in the use of these means (or would be more so, were it not for the divisions which they of the Church of Rome especially raise among us) : for they may easily perceive, that we urge no more on them than their own good, and the commands of God require of them ; though our Church knows her power very well, yet she makes use of it only to enforce the laws of God, to explain, illustrate, and apply them to particular cases, but never to set up her own commands in opposition to them, as the Church of Rome doth ; and therefore though we teach our people to dread an excommunication, it being *summum futuri judicii præjudicium*, as

Tertullian calls it, a foretaste or forestalling of the last judgment; and not for a world to lie under it, though it were inflicted only for contempt ; yet we warn them in the first place, to avoid the cause and occasion of excommunication, and therefore not to value what censures of the Church of Rome we are under, they being so very unjust and groundless.

Fourthly and lastly, As only the true object of devotion is here worshipped, only proper expressions allowed, all useful helps afforded ; so also the greatest stress is laid on the practice of it, agreeable to the true nature, end, and design of it. The principal ends of devotion are to pay a homage to God our Creator and Benefactor, to get his blessing, and to work ourselves up to a better temper of mind : and to this end, we are in our service importunate without vanity or impertinency, long, without tediousness or idle repetitions ; (only we use the Lord's prayer often, that no part of our service may be without that perfect form, and also in consideration of the great comprehensiveness of it, and of the distraction of men's minds, which seldom can attend to the full sense of it all at one time.) And we teach our people, that every man must work for himself ; for he that prays only by a proxy, it is very just that he should be rewarded only by a proxy too : we put our people in mind, that an unfeigned repentance is absolutely necessary, and not a verbal one only : that it is out of our power, and of any man's in the world, to turn attrition into contrition. We pretend not to dispense with any for not obeying the command of God : we have no *Taxa Cameræ*, by which the Papists are shewn how all sins are fined in their Church ; for in that book men see at what charge they may kill a father, or commit incest with their sisters : but we assure all, that the wages of sin is death, death eternal, if indulged, and not most earnestly repented of : and we tell all, that devotion is necessary for all, though the Church of Rome hath ways of gratifying every inclination ; so as they that will not lead a strict life, need not, and yet may have hopes of salvation : we own their policy in this contrivance, but do not so much admire their religious regard to the salvation of men's souls.

And to conclude, though we thus forcibly press all Christian duties on all men ; yet at the same time we warn them not to pretend to merit heaven at God's hand ; but after they have done their best, to confess they are unprofitable servants. We say of our charity, or whatever else we do in obedience to God, that of his own we give to him, and we are bound to thank

him both for the will, and the ability to give. The most that we pretend to, is only to make a small acknowledgment by way of sacrifice for what we have received: we beg of God to accept it as a testimony of a grateful mind; and we know that his goodness is so great, that he will abundantly reward an honest and sincere servant, though he hath done no more than was his duty: and we hope, that what we offer, though mingled with many imperfections, he will be pleased to accept for the sake of Christ, as if it were perfect.

These are the grounds that we go on in our devotions, and whatever we do for the honour of God; and thus designing, and thus acting and persisting, we need not doubt but the good providence of God, which watcheth over his whole Church, will, in an especial manner, watch over this, which is so pure a member of it, that he will accept of the devotions which are offered to him in it, and hear the prayers that are made unto him for it, and defend it against all its enemies on every side; which God of his infinite mercy grant, for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord.

THE
POPISH DOCTRINE
CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS,
CONFUTED.

BOOK I.

THE NUMBER AND NATURE OF THEM IN GENERAL.

NO CATHOLIC TRADITION FOR THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

OF THE NUMBER OF SACRAMENTS.

THE Council of Trent pronounces an anathema in these words, “If any one saith that the sacraments of the new law were not all appointed by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they were more or fewer than seven, *viz.* baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders and matrimony, or that any one of these is not truly and properly a sacrament, let him be anathema.”*

But what is it to be truly and properly a sacrament?

It had been very reasonable to have defined a sacrament first truly and properly, before such an anathema passed. But that defect may be said to be supplied by the Roman Catechism, published by authority of the Council; and there we are told, that “a sacrament is a sensible thing, which by divine institution hath a power of causing, as well as signifying holiness and righteousness.”† So that to a true and proper sacrament two things are necessary.

1. That it be of divine institution.

2. That it confer grace on those who partake of it.

And by these we must examine the catholic tradition about the number of sacraments.

* Sess. 7. Can. 1. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 776. Lut. Par. 1672.]

† Catech. Trident. Part 2. n. 10. [p. 130. Mechlin. 1831.]

Bellarmino saith, "That all their divines, and the whole Church for 500 years, *viz.* from the time of the Master of the Sentences, have agreed in the number of the seven sacraments."*

Here we see is a bold appeal to tradition for 500 years; but although, if it were proved, it cannot be sufficient to prove an Apostolical tradition; for the Fathers might for a thousand years have held the contrary; and I do not think one clear testimony can be produced out of antiquity for that number of sacraments, truly so called; yet I shall at present wholly wave the debate of the former times, and confine myself to Bellarmine's 500 years; and I hope to make it appear there was no universal tradition for it within his own time.

For Alexander Hales (who wrote, saith Possevin, his Sum of Divinity by order of Innocent IV. and it was approved by Alexander IV. with seventy divines), affirms, † "there were but four proper sacraments;" now if this were the catholic tradition then, that there were seven proper sacraments, how could this doctrine pass, and be so highly approved? He saith farther, "That Christ himself only appointed two, *viz.* baptism and the Lord's supper; and for the rest," he saith, ‡ "it may be presumed the Apostles did appoint them by Christ's direction, or by divine inspiration." But how can that be, when he saith, "the form even of those he calls proper sacraments, was either appointed by our Lord or by the Church?" How can such sacraments be of divine institution, whose very form is appointed by the Church? He puts the question himself, why Christ appointed the form only of two sacraments, when all the grace of the sacraments comes from him? He answers, § "Because these are the principal sacraments which unite the whole man in the body of the Church by faith and charity." But yet this doth not clear the difficulty, how those can be proper sacraments, whose form is not of divine institution; as he grants in the sacrament of penance and orders, the form is of the Church's appointment.

And this will not only reach to this great school divine, but to as many others as hold it in the Church's power to appoint

* Bell. de Sacram. 1. 2. c. 25. [p. 130. Mechlin. 1831.]

† In quatuor quæ sunt propriè dicta Sacraenta novæ legis, est forma instituta à Domino vel ab Ecclesia. Alex. Halens. Part 4. q. 5. [q. 8.] M. 3. a. 2. [vol. 3. fol. xlvi. p. 2. col. 2. Lugd. 1516.]

‡ Memb. 2. a. 1. [Ibid. fol. xlviij. p. 1. col. 1.]

§ Memb. 3. a. 2. sect. 3. [Ibid. fol. xlvii. p. 1. col. 2.]

or alter the matter and form of some of those they call sacraments. For, however they may use the name, they can never agree with the Council of Trent in the nature of the seven sacraments, which supposes them to be of divine institution, as to matter and form. And so the divines of the Church of Rome have agreed since the Council of Trent.

Bellarmino hath a chapter* on purpose to shew, that the matter and form of sacraments are so certain and determinate, that nothing can be changed in them ; and this determination must be by God himself. Which, he saith, is most certain among them ; and he proves it by a substantial reason, *viz.* because the sacraments are the causes of grace ; and no one can give grace but God, and therefore none else can appoint the essentials of sacraments but he, and therefore he calls it sacrilege to change even the matter of sacraments.

Suarez asserts,† “that both the matter and form of sacraments are determined by Christ’s institution, and as they are determined by him, they are necessary to the making of sacraments. And this,” he saith, “absolutely speaking, is *de fide*, or an article of faith.” And he proves it from the manner of Christ’s instituting baptism and the eucharist, and he urges the same reason, because Christ only can confer grace by the sacraments, and therefore he must appoint the matter and form of them.

Cardinal Lugo affirms,‡ that Christ hath appointed both matter and form of the sacraments, which he proves from the Council of Trent. He thinks Christ might have granted a commission to his Church to appoint sacraments, which he would make efficacious, but he neither believes that he hath done it, or that it was fitting to be done.

Petrus a Sancto Joseph saith, §“That although the Council of Trent doth not expressly affirm the sacraments to be immediately instituted by Christ ; yet it is to be so understood. And although the Church may appoint *Sacramentalia*, i.e. rites about the sacraments ; yet Christ himself must appoint the sacraments themselves ;” and he concludes, “that no creature can have authority to make sacraments conferring grace ;” and therefore he declares, “that Christ did appoint

* Bell. de Sacr. l. 1. c. 21. [vol. 3. p. 40, 41, 42. Prag. 1721.]

† Suarez in 3. p. Th. To. 3. Disp. 2. sect. 3. [vol. 18. p. 20. Venet. 1747.] ‡ Lugo de Sacram. Disp. 2. sect. 5.

§ Petr. à Sanct. Joseph. Idea Theol. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

the forms of all the sacraments himself, although we do not read them in Scripture."

If now it appears that some, even of the Church of Rome, before the Council of Trent, did think it in the Church's power to appoint or alter the matter and form of some of those they called sacraments, then it will evidently follow they had not the same tradition about the seven sacraments which is there delivered.

OF CHRISM.

The Council of Trent* declares the matter of confirmation to be chrism, *viz.* "a composition made of oil of olive and balsam; the one to signify the clearness of conscience, the other the odour of a good fame," saith the Council of Florence.† But where was this chrism appointed by Christ? Marsilius‡ saith from Petrus Aureolus, "that there was a controversy between the divines and canonists about this matter; and the latter affirmed that chrism was not appointed by Christ, but afterwards by the Church; and that the Pope could dispense with it; which he could not do if it were of Christ's institution."

Petrus Aureolus§ was himself a great man in the Church of Rome; and after he had mentioned this difference, and named one Brocardus (or Bernardus) with other canonists for it; he doth not affirm the contrary to be a catholic tradition; but himself asserts the chrism not to be necessary to the sacrament of confirmation; which he must have done if he had believed it of divine institution.

Gregory de Valentia,|| on the occasion of this opinion of the canonists, that confirmation might be without chrism, saith two notable things: 1. That they were guilty of heresy therein; for which he quotes Dominicus Soto. 2. That he thinks there were no canonists left of that mind. If not, the change was the greater; since it is certain they were of that opinion before. For Guido Brianson¶ attests, that there was

* Conc. Trid. De Confirm. can. 2. [Labbe, ut supra, p. 779.]

† Conc. Florent. Decret. Unionis. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 18. p. 547. Venet. 1728.]

‡ Marsil. in Sent. 1. 4. q. 5. a. 1. [fol. cccevi. p. 1. col. 2. Argent. 1501.] § Aureol. in 4. d. 7. q. 1. [p. 63, 64. Rom. 1605.]

|| Greg. de Val. To. 4. Q. 5. [Disp. 5. Q. 1.] Punct. 2. [p. 801. Lut. Par. 1609.]

¶ Guido Brianson, in 4. Sent. q. 5. Conc. 1. [fol. xlvi. p. 1. col. 1. ed. 1512.]

a difference between the divines and canonists about this matter; for Bernard the Glosser, and others held, that chrism was not necessary to it, because it was neither appointed by Christ nor his Apostles, but by some ancient Councils.

Guil. Antissiodorensis* long before mentions the opinion of those who said, "that chrism was appointed by the Church after the Apostles' times; and that they confirmed only by imposition of hands;" but he doth not condemn it; only "he thinks it better to hold that the Apostles used chrism, although we never read that they did it." But he doth not lay that opinion only on the canonists; for there were divines of great note of the same. For,

Bonaventure† saith, "that the Apostles made use neither of their matter nor form in their confirmation;" and his resolution is, that "they were appointed by the governors of the Church afterwards;" as his master Alexander of Hale‡ had said before him, who attributes the institution of both to the Council of Meaux.

Cardinal de Vitriaco saith,§ "that confirmation by imposition of hands was from the Apostles; but by chrism from the Church; for we do not read that the Apostles used it."

Thomas Aquinas|| confesses, "there were different opinions about the institution of this sacrament; some held that it was not instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but afterwards in a certain Council." But he never blames these for contradicting catholic tradition, although he dislikes their opinion.

Cajetan on Aquinas saith, "that chrism with balsam was appointed by the Church after the primitive times;" and yet now, this must be believed to be essential to this sacrament; and by Conink¶ it seems to be heretical to deny it. For he affirms, "that it seems to be an article of faith, that confirmation must be with chrism, and no catholic," he saith, "now denies it." Which shews, that he believed the sense of the Church not to have been always the same about it.

But others speak out, as Gregory de Valentia, Suarez,

* Guil. Antis. in l. 4. tract. 9. [fol. cclvii. p. 1. col. 1. Par. 1500.]

† Bonav. in 4. d. 7. a. 1. q. 2. [vol. 5. par. 2. p. 93. col. 2. Rom. 1596.]

‡ Alex. p. 4. q. 9. [q. 24.] memb. 1. [ut supra, fol. ciii. p. 2. col. 2.]

§ Jac. de Vitr. Hist. Occid. c. 37. [p. 399. Duac. 1597.]

|| Aq. p. 3. q. 72. a. 1. Resp. ad 1. [vol. 24. p. 368. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

¶ Conink de Sacram. p. 72. a. 3. dub. 1.

Filliucius, and Tanner, who say absolutely, “it is now a matter of faith to hold chrism to be essential to confirmation; and that it is now not only erroneous, but heretical to deny it.” Their testimonies are at large produced by Petrus Aurelius,* or the famous Abbot of St. Cyran. And even he grants it to be heresy since the Council of Trent; but he yields that Alensis, Bonaventure and de Vitriaco,† all held that opinion, which was made heresy by it. From whence it follows, that there hath been a change in the doctrine of the Roman Church about confirmation by chrism. For if it be heresy now, to assert that which was denied without any reproach before, the tradition cannot be said to continue the same.

Thus we have seen there was no certain tradition for the matter of this sacrament, and as little is there for the form of it. Which is, *Consigno te signo Crucis, et confirmo te Chrismate salutis in nomine Patris, etc.* But Sirmondus‡ produces another form out of St. Ambrose, *Deus Pater omnipotens, qui te regeneravit ex Aqua et Spiritu Sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua ipse te ungat in vitam æternam.* And from thence concludes the present form not to be ancient; and he confesses that both matter and form§ of this sacrament are changed. Which was an ingenuous confession; but his adversary takes this advantage from it; “that then the sacrament itself must be changed, if both matter and form were; and then the Church must be a very unfaithful keeper of tradition;”|| which I think is unanswerable. Suarez¶ proposes the objection fairly, “both as to the matter and form of this sacrament, that we read nothing of them in Scripture, and tradition is very various about them;” but his answer is very insufficient, *viz.* “That though it be not in Scripture, yet they have them by tradition from the Apostles;” now that is the very thing which Sirmondus disproves, and shews that the Church of Rome is clearly gone off from tradition here, both as to matter and form.

OF ORDERS.

I proceed to the sacrament of Orders. It is impossible for those of the Church of Rome to prove this a true and proper

* Petr. Aurel. Oper. p. 546, 547.

† P. 567.

‡ Sirmon. Ant. 2. p. 64. [Par. 1634.]

§ P. 63. [Ibid.]

|| Petr. Aurel. Op. p. 567.

¶ Suarez. To. 3. q. 3. p. Th. Q. 72. Disp. 33. sect. 5. [ut supra, vol. 18. p. 343.]

sacrament, on their own grounds. For they assert that such a one must have matter and form appointed by Christ ; but that which they account the matter and form of orders were neither of them of Christ's institution. The Council of Florence,* they say, "hath declared both ; the matter is that, by the delivery whereof the order is conferred, as that of priesthood by the delivery of the chalice with the wine, and the paten with the bread ; and the form is, *Accipe potestatem offerendi Sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis et mortuis.*" Now if neither of these be owned by themselves to have been appointed by Christ, then it necessarily follows, that they cannot hold this to be "a true and proper sacrament." Imposition of hands they grant was used by the Apostles, and still continued in the Christian Church ; and Bellarmine† confesses, "that nothing else can be proved by Scripture to be the external symbol in this sacrament." And others are forced to say, "that Christ hath not determined the matter and form of this sacrament particularly, but hath left a latitude in it for the Church to determine it." Which in my opinion is clear giving up the cause, as to this sacrament.

It is observed by Arcadius,‡ "that the Council of Trent doth not declare the particular matter and form of this sacrament, but only in general, that it is performed by words and external signs," Sess. 23. c. 3. From whence he infers, "that the outward sign was left to the Church's determination ;" and he saith, "that Christ did particularly appoint the matter and form of some sacraments, as of baptism, and the Lord's supper, and extreme unction, but not of others ; and therefore in the sacrament of orders, he saith, Christ determined no more but that it should be conveyed by some visible sign ; and so it may be either by the delivering the vessels, or by the imposition of hands, or both." But we are to consider, that the Council of Florence was received by the Council of Trent ; and that it is impossible to reconcile this doctrine with the general definition of a sacrament by the Roman Catechism, *viz.* "that it is a sensible thing, which by the institution of Christ hath a power of causing as well as signifying grace ;" which implies, that the external sign which conveys grace, must be appointed by the author of the sacrament itself ; or else the Church must have power to annex

* Decret. Unionis. [ut supra, p. 550.]

† Bell. de Sacr. Ordinis, l. 1. c. 9. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 722. col. 2.]

‡ Arcad. de Sacram. l. 6. c. 4.

divine grace to its own appointments. But here lies the main difficulty, the Church of Rome hath altered both matter and form of this sacrament from the primitive institution ; and yet it dares not disallow the ordinations made without them, as is notorious in the case of the Greek Church ; and therefore they have been forced to allow this latitude as to the matter and form of this sacrament ; although such an allowance doth really overthrow its being a true and proper sacrament on their own grounds.

Yet this doctrine hath very much prevailed of late among their chief writers. Cardinal Lugo* confesses, “that of old priesthood was conferred by imposition of hands with suitable words ; and he saw it himself so done at Rome, without delivering the vessels, by catholic Greek bishops.” He saith farther,† “that the Fathers and Councils are so plain for the conferring priesthood by imposition of hands, that no one can deny it ;” but yet he must justify the Roman Church in assuming new matter and form, which he doth, by asserting “that Christ left the Church at liberty as to them.”

Nichol. Ysambertus‡ debates the point at large, and his resolution of it is, “that Christ determined only the general matter, but the particular sign was left to the Church ; and he proves by induction, that the Church hath appointed the external sign in this sacrament, and as to the order of priesthood, he proves, that imposition of hands was of old an essential part of it, but now it is only accidental.”

Franciscus Hallier§ confesses “the matter of this sacrament to have been different in different times.” In the Apostles’ times, and many ages after, hardly any other can be found but imposition of hands, as he proves from Scripture and Fathers. He carries his proofs down as low as the Synod of Aken, in the time of Ludovicus Pius, and the Council of Meaux, A.D. 845, but afterwards he saith, “that by the Council of Florence,|| and the common opinion of their divines, the delivery of the vessels is the essential matter of this sacrament.” Here we find a plain change in the matter of a sacrament, owned after the continuance of above eight hundred years ; and yet we must believe the tradition of this Church to have been always the same. Which is impossible by the confession of their own

* Lugo de Sac. Disp. 2. sect. 5. n. 85.

† N. 92.

‡ Ysambert. de Sacram. Ordinis. Disp. 3. art. 6.

§ Hallier de Sacris Elect. et Ordinat. sect. 2. c. 2. art. 1.

|| P. 439.

writer. He cannot tell just the time when the change was made, but he concludes it was before the time of the *Vetus Ordo Romanus*, which mentions the vessels.

Petrus à Sancto Joseph saith,* “That by Christ’s institution there is a latitude allowed in the matter of orders;” but he shews not where; but he thinks, “of itself it consists in the delivery of the vessels, but by the Pope’s permission, imposition of hands may be sufficient.” Which is a doctrine which hath neither Scripture, reason, nor tradition for it.

Joh. Morinus† shews that there are five opinions in the Church of Rome about the matter of this sacrament: “The first and most common is, that it consists in the delivery of the vessels. The second, that imposition of hands, together with that makes up the matter. The third, that they convey two different powers. The fourth, that unction with imposition of hands is the matter. The fifth, that imposition of hands alone is it; and this,” saith he, “the whole Church, Greek and Latin, ever owned:” but he saith, “he can bring two demonstrations against the first,” i. e. against the general sense of the now Roman Church. “1. From the practice of the Greek Church, which never used it. 2. From the old rituals of the Latin Church, which do not mention them;” and he names some above eight hundred years old; and in none of them he finds either the matter or form of this sacrament, as it is now practised in the Church of Rome; nor in Isidore, Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Valafridus Strabo, although they wrote purposely about these things. He thinks “it was first received into the public offices in the tenth age.” Afterwards he saith,‡ “He wonders how it came about that any should place the essential matter of ordination only in delivery of the vessels, and exclude the imposition of hands, which alone is mentioned by Scripture and Fathers.” And again he saith, § “it strikes him with astonishment that there should be such an alteration, both as to matter and form.” And at last he saith, || “Christ hath determined no particular matter and form in this sacrament.”

But still the difficulty returns, how this can be a true and proper sacrament, whose matter and form depend on divine institution, when they confess there was no divine institution for the matter and form of orders?

* Petr. à Sanct. Joseph, Idea Theol. Sacr. I. 4. c. 1. p. 396.

† Morin. de Sacris Ordin. Part 3. Exercit. 7. c. 1.

‡ C. 3. n. 1.

§ N. 6. c. 6.

|| N. 2.

Bellarmino* (as is proved before) hath a chapter on purpose to prove, “that the matter and form of sacraments are so determined, that it is not lawful to add, diminish or alter them ;” and he charges it on Luther as a part of his heresy, “that no certain form of words was required to sacraments :” and he makes it no less than “sacrilege to change the matter of them.” So that all such who hold the matter and form in orders to be mutable, must either charge the Church of Rome with sacrilege, or deny orders to be a true and proper sacrament.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

The next new sacrament is that of penance. They are agreed, that matter and form are both necessary to a “true and proper sacrament.” The matter is the “external or sensible sign ;” and what is that in this new sacrament ?

There are two things necessary to the matter of a sacrament :

1. That it be an external and sensible sign ; which St. Augustine† calls an element in that known expression, *Accedit verbum ad Elementum, et fit Sacramentum* ; which Bellarmine would have understood only of baptism there spoken of ; but St. Augustine’s meaning goes farther, as appears by his following discourse, and immediately he calls a sacrament *verbum visible* ; and therefore cannot be applied to words as they are heard, for so they have nothing of a sacramental sign in them. How then can contrition make up any part of the matter of a sacrament, when it is not external ? How can confession, when it is no visible sign, nor any permanent thing as an element must be ? How can satisfaction be any part of the sacrament, which may be done when the effect of the sacrament is over in absolution ?

2. There must be a resemblance between the sign and the thing signified. Which St. Augustine‡ is so peremptory in, that he denies “there can be any sacrament where there is no resemblance. And from hence,” he saith, “the signs take the name of the thing signified ; as after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ.”

And this was looked on as so necessary, that Hugo de

* Bell. de Sacram. l. 1. c. 24. [c. 21.] [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 40. col. 2.]

† Aug. in Joh. Tr. 80. [vol. 3. par. 2. p. 703. Par. 1680.]

‡ S. Aug. Ep. ad Bonifac. [vol. 2. p. 267. Par. 1679.]

Sancto Victore, and Peter Lombard, both put it into the definition of a sacrament, as Suarez* confesses, *viz.* "that it is the visible appearance of invisible grace, which bears the similitude, and is the cause of it." But this is left out of the definition in the Roman Catechism, and Suarez thinks it not necessary, for the same reason; "because it is very hard to understand the similitude between words spoken in confession, and the grace supposed to be given by absolution, any more than in the words of abrenunciation, and the grace of baptism." How can the act of the penitent signify the grace conveyed in absolution? For there is no effect of the sacrament till absolution, by their own confession; and therefore, the acts of the penitent being antecedent to it, and of a different nature from it, can have no such resemblance with it, as to signify or represent it.

However, the Councils of Florence and Trent† have declared, that the acts of the penitent, *viz.* contrition, confession and satisfaction, are as the matter in the sacrament. *Quasi materia:* what is this *quasi materia*? Why not, "are the matter?" Is not true matter necessary to a true sacrament? If there be none true here, then this can be but *quasi sacramentum*, as it were a sacrament, and not truly and properly so. But if it be true matter, why is it not so declared? But common sense hindered them, and not the difference between the matter here and in other sacraments. For in the definition of sacraments they were to regard the truth and not the kind of matter. "They are not solid and permanent matter," saith Bellarmine;‡ "not matter externally applied," saith Soto;§ "not any substance but human acts," saith Vasquez;|| but none of these clear the point. For still, if it be true matter of a sacrament, why was it not so declared? Why such a term of diminution added, as all men must understand it, who compare it with the expressions about the other sacraments?

But they knew very well there was a considerable party in the Church of Rome, who denied the acts of the penitent to be the matter or parts of this sacrament. The Council of Colen¶ (but little before the Council of Trent) excludes the

* Suarez. To. 3. in 3. C. Q. 60. Disp. 1. a. 3. sect. 4. [ut supra, vol. 18. p. 12.]

† Concil. Flor. Decr. Union. Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 3. [Ibid. p. 817.]

‡ Bell. de Poenit. l. 1. c. 16. [ut supra, p. 536. col. 2.]

§ Soto in l. 4. sent. d. 14. q. 1.

|| Vasq. in 3. p. Q. 84. Art. 1. n. 9.

¶ Enchirid. Colon. f. 180.

acts of the penitent from any share in this sacrament : which Bellarmine* denies not, but blames Gropperus, the supposed author of the Enchiridion. But Gropperus was thought fit to be a cardinal as well as Bellarmine ; and certainly knew the tradition of the Church, if there had been any such in this matter. The Council of Florence, it is plain, he thought not to be a sufficient declarer of it. No more did Joh. Major,† who after it denied “this sacrament to consist of matter and form, or that the acts of the penitent were the parts of it.” So did Gabriel Biel,‡ who refutes the contrary opinion, and saith, “contrition can be no part, because it is no sensible sign ; and satisfaction may be done after it.” So that he cuts off two parts in three of the matter of this pretended sacrament.

Guido Brianson,§ who lived after the Council of Florence, supposes no certain tradition in the Church about this matter; but he sets down both opinions with their reasons, and prefers “that which excludes the acts of the penitent from being parts of the sacrament,” although the Florentine Council had declared the contrary.

Durandus|| rejects two parts in three of those declared by the two Councils, and for the same reasons mentioned by Biel.

Ockam¶ absolutely denies “all three to be parts of the sacrament.” And so did Scotus** before him ; whose words are remarkable, *De Pœnitentiae Sacramento dico, quod illa tria nullo modo sunt partes ejus, viz.* “these three are by no means any part of the sacrament of penance ;” and yet the Council of Trent†† not only declares that they are so, but denounces an anathema against him that denies them to be required, as the matter of the sacrament of penance. And let any one by this judge what catholic tradition it proceeded upon ; when some of the greatest divines in the Church of Rome were of another opinion.

As to the form of this sacrament, the Council of Trent†† denounces an anathema against those who affirm absolution

* Bell. de Pœnit. l. 1. c. 16. [ut supra, p. 536. col. 1.]

† Major in 4. sent. Dist. 14. q. 2. [fol. lx. p. 1. col. 2. Par. 1509-16.]

‡ Biel in 4. Dist. 14. q. 2. [The pages of the Museum copy of Biel, Edit. Basil. 1512, are not numbered.]

§ Brianson in 4. sent. q. 8. Concl. 3. [ut supra, fol. cxxxv. &c.]

|| Durand. in 1. 4. Dist. 16. q. 1. [fol. ccclxxxi. p. 2. col. 1. Par. 1508.]

¶ Ockam in 4. sent. q. 8. ** Scot. in 1. 4. sent. Dist. 16. q. 1.

†† Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. de Pœnit. Sacr. Can. 4. [Labbe, ut supra, p. 823.] ‡ Can. 9.

to be only declarative of the remission of sins ; and yet I shall prove that this was the more current doctrine, even in the Church of Rome, up to the Master of the Sentences.

Gabriel Biel saith,* “The ancient doctors did commonly follow it ;” but it was opposed by Scotus, because “it seemed to take off from the efficacy of absolution, and consequently make it no sacrament, which is a cause of grace.” But after he hath set down Scotus’s arguments, he saith, “That opinion were very desirable, if it had any foundation in Scripture or Fathers.” And to his arguments he answers, “that true contrition obtains pardon with God, before sacerdotal absolution, but not with the Church ; and that contrition supposes a desire of absolution ;” which will never hold to make absolution to confer the grace of remission, if the sin be really forgiven before. For what is the desire of the penitent to the force of the sacrament administered by the priest? And he saith, they all grant, “that by true and sufficient contrition the sin is forgiven without the sacrament in act,” *i. e.* the actual receiving absolution. So that here was an universal tradition as to the power of contrition, but in the other they had different opinions.

Marsilius saith,† “That God forgives sin upon contrition authoritatively ; the priests’ absolution is ministerial in the court of conscience, and before the Church. And those sins which God first absolves from principally and authentically, the priest afterwards absolves from in right of the Church, as its minister.”

Tostatus saith,‡ “That the priest’s absolution follows God’s.”

Ockam,§ “That the priests then bind and loose, when they shew men to be bound or loosed ; and for this he relies on the Master of the Sentences.”

Thomas de Argentina,|| “That the power of the keys doth extend to the remission of the fault which was done before by contrition ; but it tends to the increase of grace in the person.”

Gulielmus Antissiodore,¶ “That contrition takes away the

* Biel in 4. Dist. 14. q. 2. not. 2.

† Marsil. in 4. sent. q. 12. Ar. 2. [ut supra, fol. cccclxxvii.]

‡ Tostat. Defens. part. 1. c. 6. [fol. 7. p. 2. col. 1. Venet. 1596.]

§ Ockam in 1. 4. q. 9. a. 4. ad 1.

|| Thom. de Argent. 1. 4. Dist. 18. a. 3. [p. 125. col. 1. Venet. 1564.]

¶ Gul. Antis. 1. 4. f. 254. [ut supra, fol. cclxviii. p. 1. col. 2.]

guilt and punishment of sin, as to God and conscience, but not as to the Church ; for a man is still bound to undergo the penance which the Church enjoines him.”

Bonaventure,* “That absolution presupposes grace ; for no priest would absolve any one whom he did not presume God had absolved before.”

Alexander Hales,† “That where God doth not begin in absolution, the priest cannot make it up.”

But the Master of the Sentences‡ himself most fully handles this point ; and he shews from the Fathers, “that God alone can remit sin, both as to the fault and the punishment due to it. And the power of the keys,” he saith, “is like the priest’s judgment about leprosy in the Levitical law ; God healed the person, and the priest declared him healed. Or as our Saviour first raised Lazarus, then gave him to his disciples to be loosed. He is loosed before God, but not in the face of the Church but by the priest’s judgment. Another way,” he saith; “priests bind by enjoining penance, and they loose by remitting it, or re-admitting persons to communion upon performing it.”

This doctrine of Peter Lombard’s, is none of those *in quibus Magister non tenetur*; for we see he had followers of great name, almost to the Council of Trent. But it happened, that both Th. Aquinas and Scotus agreed in opposing this doctrine; and the Franciscans and Dominicans bearing greatest sway in the debates of the Council of Trent, what they agreed in, passed for catholic tradition. And Vasquez§ is in the right, when he saith, “This doctrine was condemned by the Council of Trent ;” and so was Scotus, when he said, “that it did derogate from the sacrament of penance ;” for in truth it makes it but a nominal sacrament, since it hath no power of conferring grace ; which the Council of Trent makes necessary to a true and proper sacrament.

The main point in this debate is, whether true contrition be required to absolution or not ? Which Scotus saw well enough, and argues accordingly. For none of them deny, that where there is true contrition, there is immediately an absolution before God : and if this be required before the priest’s absolution,

* Bonavent. l. 4. dist. 18. q. 1. [ut supra, p. 273. col. 1.]

† Alex. Halens. part 4. q. 21. [q. 80.] memb. 3. art. 1. [ut supra, fol. ccxxiii. p. 1. col. 2.]

‡ Pet. Lomb. l. 4. dist. 18. p. 1. [fol. 371. p. 2. Colon. Agr. 1566.]

§ Vasquez in. 3. q. 84. A. 3. dub. 2. 17.

he can have no more to do, but to pronounce or to declare him absolved. But if something less than contrition do qualify a man for absolution, and by that, grace be conveyed, then the power of absolution hath a great and real effect ; for it puts a man into a state of grace, which he had not been in without it. And from hence came the opinion, that attrition with absolution was sufficient ; and they do not understand the Council of Trent's doctrine of the sacrament of penance, who deny it, as will appear to any one that reads the 4th chapter of the Sacrament of Penance, and compares it with the 7th and 8th canons about sacraments in general. It is true, that contrition is there said to have the first place in the acts of the penitent ; but observe what follows : "True contrition reconciles a man to God, before he receives this sacrament." What hath the priest then to do, but to declare him reconciled ? But it saith, "not without the desire of it." Suppose not, yet the thing is done upon the desire, and therefore the priest's power can be no more than declarative. And that such a desire is so necessary, as without it contrition avails not, is more than the Council hath proved, and it is barely supposed, to maintain the necessity of going to the priest for absolution ; and so it will be no more than a precept of the Church, and not a condition of remission in the sacrament of penance. But afterwards it declares, "that imperfect contrition or attrition doth dispose a man for the grace of God in this sacrament ; and by the general canons, the sacraments do confer grace where men are disposed." So that the Council of Trent did rightly comprehend the force of the power of absolution, which it gave to the priest in this sacrament of penance.

But what catholic tradition could there be for the doctrine of the Council of Trent in this matter, when Hadrian VI.* so little before it, declares, "It was a great difficulty among the doctors, whether the keys of priesthood did extend to the remission of the fault ?" And for the negative he produces Pet. Lombard, Alex. Alens. and Bonaventure ; and saith, "that opinion is probable, because the priest's power of binding and loosing is equal ; and as they cannot bind where God doth not, for they cannot retain the sins of a true penitent ; so neither can they loose where God doth not," i. e. where there is not true contrition. But because he saith, "others held

* Hadrian. Quodlib. q. 5. 3. princip.

the contrary opinion, and had probability on their side too, therefore he would determine nothing." Notwithstanding this, in a few years after, the Council of Trent finds no difficulty, no probability in the other opinion; but determines as boldly, as if there had been an universal tradition their way; whereas the contrary cannot be denied by any that are conversant in the doctrines of their schools. But it was the mighty privilege of the Council of Trent, to make the doctrines of Thomas and Scotus, when they agreed, to be articles of faith; and to denounce anathemas against opposers, although they reached to some of the greatest divines of their own Church, within Bellarmine's compass of 500 years.

OF EXTREME UNCTION.

We are now to examine another pretended sacrament, *viz.* of extreme unction. The Council of Trent* declares this to be a true and proper sacrament, and denounces an anathema against him that denies it to be instituted by Christ, and published by St. James;† or that it confers grace and remission of sins; or that affirms it was appointed for bodily cures. It farther declares, from the place of St. James, interpreted by tradition, that the matter is oil consecrated by the bishop: the form, that which is now used, *per istam unctionem*, &c.; the effect, the grace of the Holy Ghost in purging away the remainder of sin, and strengthening the soul; and sometimes bodily cures, when it is expedient for the health of the soul. So that the primary intention of this sacrament must respect the soul, otherwise it is granted, it could not be a true and proper sacrament. So Suarez‡ saith in this case, "If the external sign be not immediately appointed for a spiritual effect, it cannot prove a true sacrament of the new law; no not although the bodily cure were designed for the strengthening of faith." And from hence he proves, "that when the Apostles are said to anoint the sick, and heal them, Mark vi. 13, this cannot relate to the sacrament of unction, because their cures had not of themselves an immediate respect to the soul." The same reason is used by Bellarmine,§ *Sacramenta per se ad animam pertinent, ad corpus per accidens, aut certe secundario.* The

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. Can. 1, 2. [ut supra, p. 826.]

† Cap. 1, 2, 3. [Ibid. p. 822.]

‡ Suarez in 3. part. disp. 39. sect. 1. n. 5.

§ Bell. de Extr. Unct. c. 2. [vol. 3. p. 705. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

same is affirmed by Maldonat,* although he differs from Bellarmine about the Apostles' anointing with oil, which Bellarmine denies to have been sacramental for this reason, but Maldonat affirms it; and answers other arguments of Bellarmine but not this.

Gregory de Valentia† carries it farther, and saith, "that if the anointing with oil were only a symbol of a miraculous cure, it could be no sacrament; for that is a medium to convey supernatural grace, and then it would last no longer than the gift of miracles."

So that we have no more to do, but only to prove, that by the tradition of the Church St. James's anointing was to be understood with respect to bodily cures, in the first place.

We cannot pass over so great a man as Cajetan, who wrote on that place of St. James, not long before the Council of Trent, and a good while after the Council of Florence, which relies on this place for this sacrament of unction. But Cajetan saith, "It doth not relate to it, because the immediate effect is the cure of the party in Saint James; but in this sacrament the direct and proper effect is remission of sins." All that Catharinus‡ hath to say against this, is, "that the bodily cure is not repugnant to it;" but what is this to the purpose, when the question is, what is primarily designed in this place?

The school divines, from Peter Lombard, had generally received this for a sacrament; but the canonists denied it, as appears by the Gloss on *c. Vir autem de Secund. Nuptiis Decret. Gregor. Tit. 21.* where it is said, "that this unction might be repeated, being no sacrament, but only prayer over a person." The Roman correctors cry out, "it is heresy by the Council of Trent;" but the Glosser knew no such thing; and if it were so only by the Council of Trent, then not by any catholic tradition before. For I suppose matter of heresy must reach to the canonists as well as the divines.

But the plainest determination of this matter will be by the ancient offices of the Church; for if they respected bodily cures in the first place, then it is owned there could be no tradition for any sacrament in this unction.

In the ancient *Ordo Romanus* it is called "Benedictio olei ad omnem languorem quocunque tempore." I desire to know

* Mald. de Sacram. Extr. Unct. q. 2.

† Greg. de Val. To. 4. Disp. 8. q. 1. Punct. 1. [ut supra, p. 1830, 1831.]

‡ Cath. Annot. in Comment. Cajet. 1. 5. p. 464. [p. 193. Par. 1535.]

whether the oil so consecrated be chiefly designed for the body or the soul. And in the office itself, this place of St. James is mentioned ; and then follows, “ Te Domine peritissimum medicum imploramus, ut virtutis tuæ medicinam in hoc oleum propitiis infundas.” And a little after, “ Prosit, Pater misericordiarum, febribus et dysenteria laborantibus, prosit paralyticis, cæcis et claudis, simulque vexatitiis,” with abundance more ; which manifestly shews, that this consecrated oil was intended primarily for the cure of diseases.

In the Ambrosian form, the prayer is, “ Infunde sanctificationem tuam huic oleo, ut ab his quæ unxerit membra, fugatis insidiis adversariæ potestatis, susceptione præsentis olei, Sancti Spiritus gratia salutaris debilitatem expellat, et plenam conferat sospitatem.” Where the effect relates to the soundness of the members anointed, and not to the sins committed by them.

In the *Gregorian Sacramentary** published by Menardus, there is a prayer wherein this place of St. James is mentioned ; and presently it follows, “ Cura, quæsumus, Redemptor noster, gratia Spiritus Sancti languores istius infirmi,” &c. and immediately before the anointing, “ Sana Domine infirmum istum, cujus ossa turbata sunt,” &c. and while he was anointing, the patient was to say, “ Sana me Domine ;” and where the pain was greatest, he was to be so much more anointed, “ ubi plus dolor imminet, amplius perungatur.” While the rest were anointing, one of the priests was to pray, “ pristinam et immelioratam recipere merearis sanitatem.” What was this but bodily health ? And yet this was “ per hanc Sacramenti olei unctionem.” After which follows a long prayer for recovery from pains and diseases.

And such there are in the several offices published by Menardus, in his notes : although the general strain of them shews that they were of later times, when the unction was supposed to expiate the sins of the several senses.

Cassander† produces many instances to shew, that the prayers and hymns, and the form of anointing did respect bodily health. In one he finds this form, “ In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti accipe sanitatem.” Not the health of the mind, but the body.

Maldonat‡ takes notice of Cassander’s offices, and the

* *Sacr. Greg.* p. 252. [Par. 1642.]

† *Cassand. not. in Hymn.* p. 288. [Par. 1616.]

‡ *Maldonat. de Sacram. Extr. Unct. q. 1.*

expressions used in them ; but he gives no answer to the main design of them. But three things he owns the Church of Rome to have varied from the ancient tradition in, with respect to this sacrament. 1. As to the form ; the Council of Trent owns no other but that now used, “ per istam unctionem,” &c. but Maldonat confesses it was indicative, “ Ego te ungo,” &c. or “ Ungo te oleo sancto,” &c. and he runs to that shift, “ that Christ did not determine any certain form ;” whereas the Council of Trent saith, “ the Church understood by tradition the other to have been the form.” Here the Council of Trent makes an appeal to tradition, and is deserted in it by one of its most zealous defenders ; and Gamachæus* affirms this to be “ an essential change ;” and he thinks the sacrament not to be valid in another form. Suarez† thinks the other form not sufficient. But Maldonat affirms the other form was used : and so at that time there was no sacrament of extreme unction, because not administered in a valid or sufficient form. And yet in the Gregorian‡ Office the form is indicative, “ Inungo te de oleo sancto,” &c. So in that of Rotaldus,§ “ Ungo te oleo sanctificato in nomine Patris,” &c. In the Tilian Codex|| “ Inungo te in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, oleo sancto atque sacrato,” &c. In the Codex Remigii¶ the general forms are indicative, “ Ungo te oleo sancto,” &c. But there being a variety of forms set down, among the rest is one,** “ Per istam unctionem Dei,” &c. which afterwards came to be the standing form ; and yet the Council of Trent confidently appeals to tradition in this matter. Which shewed how very little the divines there met were skilled in the antiquities of their own Church. Suarez†† shews his skill, when he saith, “ the tradition of the Roman Church is infallible in the substance of this sacrament, and that it always used a deprecative form ;” but Maldonat knew better, and therefore on their own grounds their tradition was more than fallible ; since the Roman Church hath actually changed the form of this sacrament. 2. Maldonat observes another change, and that is, as to the season of administering it. For the Council of Trent†† saith it ought to be in “ Exitu vitæ,” and therefore it is called “ Sacramentum Exeuntium,

* Gamach. de Extr. Unct. c. 3.

† Suarez in 3. part. Disp. 40. sect. 3.

‡ Greg. Sacr. p. 252. [ut supra]. § Menard. Not. [Ibid.] p. 337.

|| [Ibid.] p. 342. ¶ [Ibid.] p. 353. ** [Ibid.] p. 352.

†† Suarez. ibid.

†† C. 3. [Labbe, ut supra, p. 822.]

the sacrament of dying persons ;” but Maldonat saith,* “ It is an abuse to give it only to such ; for, in the ancient Church, they did not wait till the party were near death ; but,” he saith, “ it was given before the eucharist, and that not once, but for seven days together, as is plain,” he saith, “ in the ancient manuscript offices ;” and he quotes Albertus Magnus for it. So that here is another great change in the Roman tradition observed and owned by him. 3. In not giving it now to children ; for in the ancient writers he saith, “ there is no exception, but it was used to all that were sick ;” and he quotes Cusanus, for saying expressly, “ that it was anciently administered to infants.” But the reason of the change was the doctrine of the Schoolmen ; for with their admirable congruities they had fitted sacraments for all sorts of sins ; as Bellarmine† informs us ; “ Baptism against original sin, confirmation against infirmity, penance against actual mortal sin, eucharist against malice, orders against ignorance, matrimony against concupiscence :” and now what is left for extreme unction ? Bellarmine saith,‡ “ They are the remainders of sin ;” and so saith the Council of Trent. But what remainders are there in children, who have not actually sinned, and original sin is done away already ? Therefore the Church of Rome did wisely take away extreme unction from children ; but therein Maldonat confesses it is gone off from tradition. I know Alegambe would have Maldonat not believed to be the author of the Books of the Sacraments ; but the preface before his works hath cleared this beyond contradiction from the manuscripts taken from his mouth, with the day and year ; compared with the copy printed under his name. But if Maldonat may be believed, the Church of Rome hath notoriously gone off from its own tradition, as to this sacrament of extreme unction.

OF MATRIMONY.

The last new sacrament is that of matrimony ; which having its institution in paradise, one would wonder how it came into men’s heads to call it a sacrament of the new law, instituted by Christ ; especially when the grace given by it supposes mankind in a fallen condition. However, the Council of Trent§ denounces an “ anathema against him that saith that

* Mald. ib. q. 3.

† Bell. de Sacr. l. 2. c. 26. [vol. 3. p. 109. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

‡ C. 2. § Conc. Trid. Sess. 24. c. 1. [ut supra, 874.]

matrimony is not truly and properly a sacrament, one of the seven of the evangelical law, instituted by Christ."

That which is truly and properly a sacrament, must be a cause of grace, according to the general decrees about the nature of sacraments. So that those who do not hold the latter, must deny the former.

Now that there was no tradition even in the Roman Church for this, I prove from the confession of their own most learned divines since the Council of Trent.

Vasquez* confesses, that Durandus denies that it confers grace, and consequently, that it is truly a sacrament (but he yields it in a large improper sense), and that the canonists were of his opinion; and that the Master of the Sentences himself asserted no more than Durandus. And which adds more to this, he confesses that Soto† durst not condemn this opinion as heretical, because Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus and other schoolmen, did only look on their own as the more probable opinion. But, saith he, "after the decree of Eugenius and the Council of Trent, it is heretical."

Gregory de Valentia‡ saith the same thing, only he adds, that the Master of the Sentences contradicts himself. So certain a deliverer was he of the Church's tradition: and wonders that Soto should not find it plainly enough in the Councils of Florence and Trent, that "a true sacrament must confer grace."

Maldonat§ yields, that Durandus and the canonists denied matrimony to be a proper sacrament, but he calls them "Catholics imprudently erring."

Bellarmino || denies it not; but uses a disingenuous shift about Durandus, and would bring it to a logical nicety, whereas the very arguments he pretends to answer, shew plainly that he denied this to be a true and proper sacrament.

But he offers something considerable about the canonists, if it will hold.

1. That they were but a few, and for this he quotes Navarr;¶ that the common opinion was against them, for which he mentions the Rubric de Spons. but I can find nothing like it through the whole title; and it is not at all probable that such men as Hostiensis and the Glosser should be ignorant of, or

* Vasq. de Sacr. Matrim. Disp. 2. c. 1.

† C. 3.

‡ Greg. de Val. To. 4. Disp. 10. Punct. 5. [ut supra, p. 1986, 1987.]

§ Mald. de Sac. Matrim. q. 1.

|| Bell. de Matr. Sac. l. 1. c. 5. [ut supra, p. 736, &c.]

¶ Navar. Man. c. 22. n. 20.

oppose the common opinion. Hostiensis* saith plainly, that “grace is not conferred by matrimony,” and never once mentions any opinion among them against it; and the Glosser upon Gratian affirms it several times, Caus. 32. q. 2. c. “Honorable. In hoc sacramento non confertur gratia Spiritus Sancti, sicut in aliis.” The Roman correctors could not bear this; and say in the margin, “immo confert;” this is plain contradicting; but how is it proved from the canon law? They refer to Dist. 23. c. “his igitur, v. pro beneficiis.” Thither upon their authority I go, and there I find the very same thing said, and in the same words; and it is given as a reason why simony cannot be committed in matrimony as in other sacraments, and in both places we are referred to 32. q. 2. c. *connubia*, and to 1. q. 1. c. *quicquid invisibilis*; the former is not very favourable to the grace of matrimony; and in the latter the Gloss is yet more plain, if it be possible, “Nota, conjugium non esse de his sacramentis quae consolationem cœlestis gratiæ tribuunt.” There the correctors fairly refer us to the Council of Trent, which hath decreed the contrary. But that is not to our business, but whether the canonists owned this or not. And there it follows, “that other sacraments do so signify as to convey, this barely signifies.” So that I think Bellarmine had as good have given up the canonists, as to make so lame a defence of them.

2. He saith, “We are not to rely on the canonists for these things, but on the divines.” But Durandus† saith, “The canonists could not be ignorant of the doctrine of the Roman Church; for some of them were cardinals;” and he gives a better reason, *viz.* “that the sense of the Roman Church was to be seen in the Decretals.” For therefore marriage was owned to be a sacrament in the large sense, because of the Decret. of Lucius III. *Extra de hæret. c. ad abolendam*; but the schoolmen argued from probabilities and niceties in this matter, which could not satisfy a man’s understanding; as appears by Durandus’s arguments, and Bellarmine’s answers to them.

1. “Where sacraments confer grace, there must be a Divine institution of something above natural reason; but there is nothing of that kind in matrimony, besides the signifying the

* Hostiens. Sum. de Sacr. non iter. n. 7.

† Durand. in Sent. 1. 4. Dist. 26. q. 3. [ut supra, fol. cccxvii. p. 1. col. 1.]

union between Christ and his Church ; and therefore it is only a sacrament in a large, and not in a proper sense."

In answer to this Bellarmine* saith, "that it both signifies and causes such a love between man and wife, as there is between Christ and his Church."

But Vasquez† saith, "that the resemblance as to Christ and his Church in matrimony, doth not at all prove a promise of grace made to it." And Basilus Pontius‡ approves of what Vasquez saith, and confesses, that "it cannot be inferred from hence, that it is a true and proper sacrament."

2. "Here is nothing external added, besides the mere contract of the persons; but the nature of a sacrament implies some external and visible sign."

Bellarmino answers, "that it is not necessary there should be in this sacrament any such intrinsical sign; because it lies in a mere contract." And that I think holds on the other side, that a mere contract cannot be a sacrament, from their own definition of a sacrament.

3. "The marriage of infidels was good and valid, and their baptism adds nothing to it; but it was no sacrament before, and therefore not after."

Bellarmino answers, that "it becomes a sacrament after." And so there is a sacrament without either matter or form; for there is no new marriage.

4. "Marriage was instituted in the time of innocency, and is a natural dictate of reason," and therefore no sacrament.

Bellarmino answers, that "it was no sacrament then, because there was no need of sacramental grace. And although the marriage of Adam and Eve did represent the union between Christ and his Church; yet it was no proper sacrament." But how doth he prove that it is a sacrament upon any other account, under the Gospel? And if that doth not imply a promise of grace then, how can it now?

So that Durandus's reasons appear much stronger than Bellarmine's answers.

But Durandus urges one thing more, which Bellarmine takes no notice of, *viz.* "that this opinion of the canonists was very well known at that time, and was never condemned as contrary to any determination of the Church." Now, if there had been any constant tradition even of the Church of Rome against it,

* Bell. de Sacr. Matr. l. 1. c. 5. [ut supra, p. 736. col. 2.]

† Vasq. de Sacr. Matr. Disp. 2. c. 6.

‡ Basil. Pont. de Matr. l. 1. c. 5. n. 10.

it is impossible these canonists should have avoided censure ; their opinion being so much taken notice of by the schoolmen afterwards. Jacobus Almain* saith, “It was a controversy between the canonists and divines, whether matrimony was a sacrament ;” not all the divines neither ; for he confesses “Durandus and others seemed to agree with them.” What universal tradition then had the Council of Trent to rely upon in this matter, when all the canonists, according to Almain, and some of the divines, opposed it ? He sets down their different reasons ; but never alleges matter of faith or tradition against them, but only saith, “the divines hold the other opinion, because matrimony is one of the seven sacraments.” But on what was the opinion of the necessity of seven sacraments grounded ? What Scripture, what Fathers, what tradition was there, before Peter Lombard, for just that number ?

THE SENSE OF THE GREEK CHURCH ABOUT SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

But before I come to that, it is fit to take notice of what Bellarmine† lays great weight upon, both as to the number of the sacraments in general, and this in particular ; which is, the consent of both the Greek and Latin Church for at least 500 years.‡ But I have shewed there was no such consent as is boasted of even in the Latin Church. “As to the Greek Church,” he saith, “it is an argument of universal tradition, when they had the same tradition even in their schism.”

To this I answer,

1. We do not deny that the later Greeks, after the taking Constantinople by the Latins, did hold seven mysteries ; which the Latins render sacraments. For after there were Latin Patriarchs at Constantinople, and abundance of Latin priests in the eastern parts, they had perpetual disputes about religion ; and the Latins by degrees did gain upon them in some points ; and particularly in this of seven sacraments ; for the Latins thought it an advantage to their Church to boast of such a number of sacraments ; and the Greeks, that they might not seem to come behind them, were willing to embrace the same number.

The first person among them who is said to have written

* Almain in 4. Dist. 26. q. 1.

† Bell. de Sacr. l. 2. c. 25. [ut supra, p. 108. col. 1.]

‡ De Matrim. Sacr. l. 1. c. 4. [Ibid. p. 731. col. 1.]

about them, was Simeon, bishop of Thessalonica, whom Possevin* sets at a greater distance, that the tradition might seem so much elder among them (for he makes him to have lived 600 years before his time); but Leo Allatius† hath evidently proved, that he lived not 200 years before him (which is a considerable difference), for Simeon‡ died but six months before the taking of Thessalonica, A.D. 1430, as he proves from Joh. Anagnosta, who was present at the taking it. From hence it appears how very late this tradition came into the Greek Church.

After him Gabriel Severus, bishop of Philadelphia, wrote about the seven sacraments, and he lived at Venice in Arcudius's time, who wrote since Possevin; and Crusius§ wrote to this Gabriel A.D. 1580, and he was consecrated by Jeremias, A.D. 1577. So that neither his authority, nor that of Jeremias, can signify anything as to the antiquity of this tradition among the Greeks.

Leo Allatius|| talks of the old as well as modern Greeks, who held seven sacraments, but he produces the testimony only of those who lived since the taking of Constantinople; as Job the Monk, Simeon, Johannes Palæologus, Jeremias, Gabriel, Cyrillus Berrhoensis, Parthenius, and such like; but he very craftily saith, "he produces these to let us see they have not gone off from the faith of their ancestors," whereas that is the thing we would have seen, *viz.* the testimony of the Greeks before, and not afterwards. As to the ancient Greeks, he confesses they say nothing of the number:¶ *De numero apud eos altum silentium est.* And how could there be a tradition in so much silence? "But some speak of some, and others of others, but all speak of all." This is a very odd way to prove a tradition of a certain number. For then, some might believe three, others four, others five, but how can this prove that all believed just seven? However, let us see the proof. But instead of that, he presently starts an objection from the pretended Dionysius Areopagita, *viz.* ** "that where he designs to treat of all the sacraments, he never mentions penance, extreme unction, and matrimony;" and after a great deal of rambling discourse, he concludes, †† "that he did ill to leave them out;

* Possev. in Appar. † Leo Allat. de Concord. l. 2. c. 18. n. 13.

† De Simeon. Script. p. 185, &c.

§ Crusii Turco-Græc. [p. 523, 524. Basil. 1584.]

|| Leo Allat. de Concord. l. 3. c 16. n. 4. ¶ N. 9.

** N. 10. †† N. 15. n. 17.

and that other answers are insufficient.” He shews from Tertullian, Ambrose and Cyril, that the necessary sacraments are mentioned; but where are the rest? And we are now inquiring after them in the ancient Greek Church; but they are not to be found; as one may confidently affirm, when one who professed so much skill in the Greek Church as Leo Allatius, hath no more to say for the proof of it.

2. Those Greeks who held seven sacraments, did not hold them in sense of the Council of Trent. And that for two reasons:

1. They do not hold them all to be of divine institution: which appears by the Patriarch Jeremias’s answer to the Tubing divines, who at first seems to write agreeably to the Church of Rome in this matter (except about extreme unction); but being pressed hard by them in their reply; he holds* to the divine institution of baptism, and the eucharist, but gives up the rest, as instituted by the Church’s authority. Which is plain giving up the cause. How then comes Bellarmine to insist so much on the answer of Jeremias? The reason was, that Socolovius had procured from Constantinople the patriarch’s first answer, and translated and printed it; upon which great triumphs were made of the patriarch’s consent with the Church of Rome; but when these divines were hereby provoked to publish the whole proceedings, those of the Church of Rome were unwilling to be undeceived; and so take no notice of any farther answer. Since the time of Jeremias, the Patriarch of Alexandria (as he was afterwards), Metrophanes Critopulus† published an account of the faith of the Greek Church; and he saith expressly of four of the seven, that they are mystical rites, and equivocally called sacraments. And from hence it appears how little reason Leo Allatius‡ had to be angry with Caucus, a Latinized Greek, like himself, for affirming, that the modern Greeks did not look on these sacraments as of divine institution; but after he hath given him some hard words, he offers to prove his assertion for him. To which end, he not only quotes that passage of the Patriarch Jeremias, but others of Job and Gregorius; from whence he infers, that five of the sacraments were of ecclesiastical institution, and he saith nothing to take it off. So admirably hath he proved the consent of the Eastern and Western Churches!

* Act. Theolog. Wirtemberg. p. 240.

† Metroph. Confess. Eccl. Orient. p. 74. [Helmest. 1661.]

‡ Leo Allat. de Concord. Eccl. Occident. et Orient. l. 3. c. 17.

2. They do not agree in the matter, or form, or some essential part of them, with the Council of Trent, and therefore can make up no tradition for the doctrine of that Council about the seven sacraments. This will be made appear by going through them.

1. OF CHRISM.

1. As to the form, Arcudius* shews, that Gabriel of Philadelphia, Cabasilas and Marcus Ephesius, all place the form in the consecration of it; but the Church of Rome makes the form to lie in the words spoken in the use of it.

2. As to the minister of it: among the Greeks it is commonly performed by the presbyter, though the bishop be present; but the Council of Trent† denounces an anathema against him that saith, the bishop alone is not the ordinary minister of it.

3. As to the character: the Council of Trent declares,‡ that whosoever affirms that confirmation doth not imprint an indelible character, so as it cannot be repeated, is anathematized; but Arcudius§ shews at large, that the modern Greeks made no scruple of reiterating confirmation. But Catumsyritus,|| another Latinized Greek, opposes Arcudius herein; and saith, that the use of chrism among the Greeks, doth not relate to the sacrament of confirmation, but was a symbolical ceremony relating to baptism; and for this he quotes one Corydaleus, a man of great note in the patriarchal Church at Constantinople. Therefore Caucus had reason to deny, that the Greeks receive that which the Latins call the sacrament of confirmation. And if this hold, then the tradition of the seven sacraments must fail in the Greek Church. For they deny that they have any such thing as a sacrament of confirmation distinct from baptism.

2. OF THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

1. The Council of Trent¶ declares absolution of the penitent to be a judicial act, and denounces an anathema against him that denies it; but the Greek Church uses a deprecative form

* Arcud. de Concord. l. 2. c. 6.

† Concil. Trid. de Confirm. Can. 3. [Labbe, ut supra. vol. 14. p. 779.] ‡ De Sacram. Can. 9. [Ibid. p. 777.]

§ Arcud. l. 2. c. 18, 19, 20, &c.

|| Catumsyrit. de Vera utriusq. Eccl. Concord. Proleg. p. 114.

¶ Concil. Trid. de Poenit. c. 6. can. 9. [Ibid. p. 819, 825.]

(as they call it), not pronouncing absolution by way of sentence, but by way of prayer to God. Which, as Aquinas* observes, rather shews a person to be absolved by God than by the priest, and is rather a prayer that it may be done, than a signification that it is done ; and therefore he looks on such forms as insufficient. And if it be a judicial sentence, as the Council of Trent determines, it can hardly be reconciled to such a form, wherein no kind of judicial sentence was ever pronounced ; as Arcudius† grants ; and in extreme unction, where such a form is allowed, there is, as he observes, no judicial act. But he hopes at last to bring the Greeks off by a phrase used in some of their forms,‡ *I have you absolved* ; but he confesses it is not in their public offices ; and their priests for the most part use it not. Which shews it to be an innovation among the Latinizing Greeks, if it be so observed, which Catumsyritus denies,§ and saith, he proves it only from some forms granted by patents, which are not sacramental ; and supposing it to be otherwise, he saith, “ it is foolish, false and erroneous to suppose such a form to be valid ; because it is no judicial act.”

2. The Council of Trent|| makes confession of all mortal sins, how secret soever, to be necessary in order to the benefit of priestly absolution in this sacrament, and denounces an anathema¶ against those that deny it ; but the Greek Church grants absolution upon supposition that they have not confessed all mortal sins : as appears by the form of the patriarch of Antioch, produced by Arcudius,** and another form of the patriarch of Constantinople, in Jeremias’s answer. Arcudius is hard put to it, when to excuse this he saith, “ they only pray to God to forgive them ;” for this is to own, that a deprecative form is insufficient, and so there is no sacrament of penance in the Greek Church.

3. OF ORDERS.

The Greek and Latin Churches differ both as to matter and form. The Council of Trent†† anathematizes those who deny a visible and external priesthood in the New Testament ; or a power of consecrating and offering the true body and blood of

* Aq. 3. p. q. 84. n. 3. ad. 1. [vol. 24. p. 465. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

† Arcud. de Concord. 4. l. c. 3. p. 360. ‡ P. 370.

§ Cantumsyritus de vera Conc. Proleg. p. 153.

|| Concil. Trid. de Poenit. c. 5. [Ibid. p. 818.]

¶ Can. 7. [Ibid. p. 824.] ** Arcud. p. 373.

†† Sess. 23. de Sacr. Ordin. Can. 1. [Ibid. p. 863.]

Christ, and of remitting and retaining of sins. And this two-fold power the Church of Rome expresses by a double form, one of delivering the vessels with *accipe potestatem*, &c., the other of imposition of hands, with *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*.

But the Greek Church wholly omits the former, on which the greatest weight is laid in the Latin Church, and many think the essential form lies in it. When the office of ordination is over, the book of the Liturgy, called *Kovrákiov*, is delivered to the presbyter, but without any words; and there is no mention of it in their rituals, either printed or manuscript; so likewise a parcel of consecrated bread is delivered by the bishop to him afterwards. And all the form is, "The divine grace advances such a one to the office of a presbyter."

If we compare this with the form in the Council of Florence, we shall find no agreement either as to matter or form in this sacrament, between the Greek and Latin Churches. For there the matter is said to be that by which the order is conferred, *viz.* the delivery of the chalice with wine, and the paten with the bread; and the form, "Receive the power of offering sacrifice for the living and the dead." And it is hardly possible to suppose these two Churches should go upon the same tradition. I know what pains Arcudius hath taken to reconcile them; but as long as the decree of Eugenius stands, and is received in the Church of Rome, it is impossible. And Catumsyritus labours hard to prove, that "he hath endeavoured thereby to overthrow the whole order of priesthood in the Roman Church."

4. OF EXTREME UNCTION.

Bellarmino* particularly appeals to the Greek Church for its consent as to this sacrament; but if he means in the modern sense, as it is delivered by the Councils of Florence and Trent, he is extremely mistaken.

1. For the former saith, "it is not to be given but to such of whose death they are afraid;" and the Council of Trent calls it the sacrament of dying persons. But the Greeks administer their sacrament of unction to persons in health as well as sickness, and once a year to all the people that will; which Arcudius† saith, is not only done by the illiterate priests, but by their patriarchs and metropolitans, &c. and they look on it then as a supplement to the ancient penance of the Church;

* Bell. de Extr. Unct. l. 1. c. 4. [ut supra, p. 710. col. 1.]

† Arcud. de Concord. l. 5. c. 4.

for they think the partaking of the holy oil makes amends for that ; but this Arcudius condemns as an abuse and innovation among them. But the original intention and design of it was for the cure and recovery of sick persons ; as Arcudius* confesses the whole scope of the office shews ; and in the next chapter† he produces the prayers to that end. And the Greeks charge the Latins ‡ with innovation, in giving this sacrament to those persons of whose recovery they have no hope.

2. The Council of Trent§ requires, that the oil of extreme unction be consecrated by a bishop ; and this the doctors of the Roman Church, saith Catumsyritus,|| make essential to the sacrament. But in the Greek Church the presbyters commonly do it, as Arcudius¶ shews at large.

5. OF MATRIMONY.

The Council of Trent** from making this a sacrament, denounces an anathema against those who do not hold the bond indissoluble even in the case of adultery. And Bellarmine†† urges this as his first reason, because it is a sign of the conjunction of Christ with his Church. But the Greek Church held the contrary ; and continues so to do, as both Bellarmine and Arcudius confess.

So that though there be allowed a consent in the number of sacraments among the modern Greeks, yet they have not an entire consent with the Roman Church in any one of them.

THE SENSE OF OTHER EASTERN CHURCHES ABOUT THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

But to shew how late this tradition of seven sacraments came into the Greek Church, and how far it is from being an universal tradition, I shall now make it appear that this number of sacraments was never received in the other Christian Churches, although some of them were originally descended from the ancient Greek Church.

I begin with the most Eastern Churches, called the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies. And we have a clear proof that there was no tradition among them about the seven

* P. 389.

† C. 5.

‡ C. 7. p. 403.

§ Conc. Trid. de Extr. Unct. c. 1. [p. 822.]

|| Catumsyr. Vera Concord. Tr. 1. p. 156.

¶ Arcud. 1. 5. c. 2.

** Conc. Trid. Sess. 24. Can. 7. [p. 875.]

†† Bell. de Matr. 1. 1. c. 16. [ut supra, p. 763. col. 2.]

sacraments. For when Alexius Meneses, archbishop of Goa, undertook to reform them according to the Roman Church (if that may be called a reformation), and held a Council at Diamper to that purpose, A. D. 1599, he found that they had no sacrament of chrism, or penance, or extreme unction, of which they were utterly ignorant, saith Jarricus* from Antonius Goveanus, who was prior of Goa, and published the whole proceedings. Which book was translated out of Portuguese by Joh. Baptista a Glano into French, and printed at Brussels, 1609. From whence the author of the Critical History of the Faith and Customs of the Eastern Nations,† hath given an account of these things; and he saith, “They owned but three sacraments, baptism, eucharist, and orders;‡ that they knew nothing of the sacrament of chrism or extreme unction, and abhorred auricular confession.”§ But in excuse of them he saith, “That they joined confirmation with baptism, as other Eastern Churches did;|| that the sacrament of extreme unction, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, is known only to the Latin Church;¶ but the Eastern Church had the unction of St. James for the cure of diseases, as the Greek Church had.”**

Cotovicus†† affirms the same of the other Eastern Churches called Chaldean (who are under the same patriarch with the Christians of St. Thomas), that they knew nothing of the sacraments of confirmation, and extreme unction. This patriarch is the same which is commonly called the Patriarch of Babylon; whose residence is at Mozal; but called of Babylon, because Seleucia, after the desolation of the true Babylon, had that name given to it (as it were easy to prove if it were pertinent to this design), and upon the destruction of Seleucia the patriarch moved, first to Bagdad, and then to Mozal; whose jurisdiction extends over all those Eastern Christians, which are called Nestorians.

In the Abyssine Churches, Godignus†† saith positively, from those who had been conversant among them, “that they knew nothing of the sacraments of chrism and extreme unction; and that all the confession they have is general and rare; §§ and

* Pet. Jarric. Rer. Indic. To. 3. p. 2. [lib. 2.] c. 12. [p. 154, 155.
Colon. Agr. 1615.] † Histoire Critique, ch. 8. ‡ P. 104.

§ P. 105. || P. 112. ¶ P. 113. ** P. 13.

†† Cotov. Itin. Hierosol. et Syr. p. 206. [Antv. 1619.]

‡‡ Godign. de Rebus Abassin, l. 1. c. 35. [p. 215, 216. Lugd. 1615.]

§§ C. 36. [Ibid. p. 224, 226.]

that they have no bishops under the *Abuna*, and believe the bond of matrimony easily dissolved." So that the tradition of seven sacraments is wholly unknown to them, but as it was imposed by the Roman missionaries; which imposition was so ill received there, and brought such confusion and disorders among them, that they are for ever banished.

In the Armenian Churches,* Joh. Chernacensis, a Latinized Armenian saith, "That the Armenians owned not the seven sacraments, that they knew nothing of chrism and extreme unction." Here we see a general consent as to the total ignorance of two of the seven sacraments in these Churches. But Clemens Galanus,† who had been many years a missionary among the Armenians, endeavours to prove, that they had the tradition of the seven sacraments; but very unsuccessfully. For he produces none of their ancient authors for it; but he names Vartanus, whom he sets himself to confute afterwards; and he confesses,‡ that he took away the sacrament of penance, and made burial of the dead to be one of his seven. But more than that, he saith,§ "the Armenian Churches have forbidden extreme unction, as the Nestorians had done auricular confession." So that nothing like a truly catholic tradition can be produced for the number of seven sacraments, either in the Church of Rome or elsewhere, within Bellarmine's own term of 500 years.

I am now to give an account when this number of seven sacraments came into the Church, and on what occasions it was advanced to be a point of faith.

The first I can find who expressly set down the number of seven sacraments, was Hugo de St. Victore,|| who lived in the twelfth century, not long before Peter Lombard. But that there was an innovation made by him in this matter, I shall make appear, by comparing what he saith with what others had delivered, who were short of the primitive Fathers.

Rupertus Tuitiensis¶ lived much about the same time in Germany, that Hugo did at Paris, and he gives a different resolution of the question about the principal sacraments: for he names no more than baptism, the eucharist and the double

* Clem. Galan. Conc. Eccles. Arm. cum Rom. c. 30. p. 516.

† Clem. Galan. To. 3. p. 439. ‡ P. 636. § P. 605.

|| Hugo de S. Vict. de Officiis, l. 1. c. 12. [Hittorpius De Divin. Cath. Eccles. Offic. p. 1372. Par. 1610.]

¶ Rup. Tuit. de Vict. Verbi, l. 12. c. 11. [vol. 2. p. 592. Colon. Agr. 1602.]

gift of the Holy Ghost ; and, saith he, “these three sacraments are necessary instruments of our salvation.” But Hugo* saith, “there are seven principal sacraments” (which sufficiently shews, that he thought there were other sacraments besides these ; and so he expresses his mind in another place, where he makes all symbolical signs to be sacraments) ; “but the principal sacraments,” he saith, “are those which convey grace.”

Fulbertus Carnotensis† lived in France in the beginning of the tenth century ; and where he discourses of the sacraments, he names no more than baptism and the eucharist. He calls the body and blood two sacraments,‡ and so did Rabanus Maurus§ before him.

Who lived in the ninth age, and was a person of great reputation ; and he names no more sacraments than baptism, and chrism, and the eucharist ; where he proposes to treat of them ; and had as just an occasion to have mentioned the rest, as Hugo had. But Bellarmine saith,|| “He handled all wherein the clergy were concerned, and therefore omitted none but matrimony.” But were not they concerned to know whether it were a sacrament or not ? The question is not whether he mentioned the things, but whether he called them sacraments ; but I do not find extreme unction so much as mentioned by him in the place he refers us to.

In the same age, Walafridus Strabo,¶ where he purposely discourses of the sacraments, names no more than Rabanus Maurus ; and this had been an inexcusable omission in such who treat of ecclesiastical offices, and were to inform persons of their duties about them. And therefore I lay much more weight on such an omission in them, than in any other writers. I know Paschasius Radbertus** mentions no more than three sacraments, baptism, chrism, and the eucharist ; but Bellarmine and Sirmondus say, “he mentioned them for example sake,” because it was not his business to handle the number of sacraments ; but this answer will by no means serve for

* Hugo de Sac. l. 1. part. 9. c. 6, 7.

† Fulb. Carnot. Epist. 1. [fol. 5, 7, 8. Par. 1608.]

‡ De Inst. Cler. l. 1. c. 31. [Hittorpius, ut supra, p. 559.]

§ Rab. Maur. de Inst. Cler. l. 1. c. 24. [Ibid. p. 574.]

|| Bell. de Sacr. l. 2. c. 27. [vol. 3. p. 112. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

¶ Walaf. Strab. de Reb. Eccl. c. 16, 17, 26. [Hittorpius de Divin. Cath. Eccles. Offic. p. 674, 675, 690. Par. 1610.]

** Pasch. Radb. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. c. 3. [Max. Biblioth. Patr. vol. 14. p. 733. Lugd. 1677.]

those who purposely treated of these matters ; and therefore an omission in them is an argument that they knew nothing of them.

And this argument will go yet higher ; for in the beginning of the seventh century, Isidore* of Seville treated of these matters, and he names no more than baptism, chrism, and the eucharist ; and he tells us, “they are therefore called sacraments, because under the covering of corporeal things, a secret and invisible virtue is conveyed to the partakers of them.” And this very passage is entered into the Canon Law, c. 1. q. 1. c. *Multi Secularium, &c.* and there it passes under the name of Gregory I. but the Roman correctors restore it to Isidore.

But it may be objected, that Ivo Carnotensis† made a collection of canons before Gratian ; who handles the sacraments in his first and second part ; and he seems to make the annual chrism to be a sacrament ; for which he quotes an epistle of Fabianus, who saith, it ought to be consecrated every year, *quia novum sacramentum, est* ; and this, he saith, “he had by tradition from the Apostles.” Which testimony the modern schoolmen‡ rely upon for a sufficient proof of this Apostolical tradition. But this epistle is a notorious counterfeit, and rejected by all men of any tolerable ingenuity in the Church of Rome. Thus we trace the original of some pretended Apostolical traditions into that mass of forgeries, the Decretal Epistles, which was sent abroad under the name of Isidore.

Ivo§ produces another testimony from Innocentius I. to prove “that extreme unction was then owned for a kind of sacrament, and therefore ought not to be given to penitents.” If this rule holds, then either matrimony was no sacrament, or penitents might not marry, but the canonists say, even excommunicated persons may marry, but one of them saith, || “it is a strange sacrament excommunicated persons are allowed to partake of.”

But this *genus est sacramenti* signifies very little to those who know how largely the word sacrament was used in elder times, from Tertullian downwards. But our question is not about a kind of a sacrament, but strict and proper sacraments ; and if it had been then thought so, he would not have permitted any to administer it ; unless they will say it is as necessary to salvation as baptism, which none do. It appears from hence,

* Isid. Orig. l. 6. de Officiis.

† Ivo Decret. 2. p. c. 73.

‡ Ysamb. ad q. 72. Disp. 1. a. 3.

§ Ivo, ib. c. 75.

|| Alex. Consil.

that there was then a custom among some in regard to St. James's words, if persons were sick, to take some of the chrism to anoint them, and to pray over them in hopes of their recovery ; but this was no sacrament of dying persons, as it is now in the Church of Rome.

If it had been then so esteemed, St. Ambrose (or whoever was the author of the book of Sacraments) would not have omitted it, and the other supernumeraries, when he purposely treats of sacraments ; the same holds as to St. Cyril of Jerusalem. And it is a poor evasion to say, "that they spake only to catechumens ;" for they were to be instructed in the means and instruments of salvation, as they make all sacraments to be.

And it is to as little purpose to say, "that they do not declare there are but two ;" for our business is to inquire for a "catholic tradition for seven true and proper sacraments," as the Council of Trent determines under an anathema. But if we compare the traditions for two and for seven together, the other will be found to have far greater advantage ; not only because the two are mentioned in the eldest writers, where the seven are not, but because so many of the Fathers agree in the tradition, "that the sacraments were designed by the water and blood which came out of our Saviour's side." So St. Chrysostom,* St. Cyril of Alexandria,† Leo Magnus ;‡ but above all, St. Augustine,§ who several times insists upon this ; which shews, that they thought those two to be the true and proper sacraments of Christianity ; however, there might be other mystical rites, which in a large sense, might be called sacraments.

As to the occasions of setting up this number of seven sacraments, they were these :

1. Some pretty congruities which they had found out for them. The number seven they observe, was in request in the Levitical law, as to sacrifices and purifications. Naaman was bid to wash seven times. And Bellarmine|| in good earnest concludes, "that the whole Scripture seemed to foretell the

* S. Chrys. in Joh. Hom. 87. [vol. 8. p. 528. Par. 1728.]

† S. Cyril. in Joh. l. 12. [vol. 4. p. 1074. Lutet. 1638.]

‡ Leo. in Epist. ad Flavian. [vol. 1. p. 831. Venet. 1753.]

§ S. Aug. in Joh. Tr. 9. 15. [vol. 3. par. 2. p. 365-409. Par. 1680.]
in Ps. 40. [vol. 4. par. 1. p. 351. Par. 1681.] De Civit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.
[vol. 7. p. 410. Par. 1685.] De Symbol. c. 6. [Ibid. vol. 6. p. 562.]

|| Bell. de Sacr. l. 2. c. 26. [ut supra, p. 109. col. 2.]

seven sacraments by those things." But besides, he tells us of "the seven things relating to natural life, which these have an analogy with ; the seven sorts of sins these are a remedy against, and the seven sorts of virtues which answer to the seven sacraments." But none of all these prove any catholic tradition.

2. Making no difference between mystical rites continued in imitation of Apostolical practices, and true and real sacraments. Imposition of hands, for confirmation and ordination, is allowed to be a very just and reasonable imitation of them ; and as long as the miraculous power of healing diseases continued, there was a fair ground for continuing the practice mentioned by St. James ; but there was no reason afterwards to change this into quite another thing, by making it a sacrament, chiefly intended for doing away the remainders of sin.

3. Advancing the honour of the priesthood ; by making them so necessary for the actual expiation of all sorts of sins, and in all conditions. For no sacrament is rightly administered, by the Council of Trent, without the priest ; and therefore clandestine marriages are declared void by it. And it pronounces an anathema against those who say any others than priests can administer extreme unction ; however, it appears that in the time of Innocentius I. any might make use of the chrism when it was consecrated by a bishop ; but they are grown wiser in the Church of Rome since that time ; and as they have altered a ceremony of curing into a sacrament of dying, so they have taken care that none but priests shall perform that last office, that the people may believe they can neither live nor die without them.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF
THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF OF THEIR DOCTRINE
CONCERNING SEVEN SACRAMENTS, AND THE EFFI-
CACY OF THEM.

PART I.

THE Sacraments are such public blessings to the Christian state, and of such great concern to all Christians, that we cannot sufficiently admire and adore the great goodness of God in appointing them, and making them the instruments of so many comforts and blessings to us. We believe that Christ did only institute two sacraments; with these we are content, because we believe Christ knew best what were necessary for his Church, and was so good as not to have omitted to institute more sacraments, if more had been necessary for the welfare of his Church.

We have two sacraments which are certainly of our blessed Saviour's institution, for which we are thankful, and with which we are satisfied; had our Saviour instituted more sacraments, we should have been more thankful, and should have had greater obligations to gratitude. And this should satisfy the gentlemen of the Church of Rome, and abate their wrath and severities against us, since though we reject those five additional sacraments, which they would be obtruding upon the world, yet we do it not because they are sacraments we do not like, but because they are not sacraments at all, because they are not Christ's sacraments, who never appointed them, but the Church of Rome's sacraments, which did appoint them, or advance them to the dignity of sacraments. And this we take to be a sufficient reason why we should reject the five additional sacraments, since neither the Church of Rome herself, nor all the Churches of the world together, are able to institute one sacrament; and this is what their learned men dare not deny; and therefore they are careful always to lay claim to

the Scriptures, and to affirm, that in the New Testament we find the institution of every one of those sacraments, which they teach, and we of the Church of England refuse.

We are more than willing to be tried by the word of God, and will refer the decision of this controversy with the Church of Rome, about the number of the sacraments, to the holy Scriptures ; and it is my business at this time to examine the proofs which they of the Church of Rome allege out of the Scriptures, for their doctrine of seven sacraments.

But before I enter upon the examination of their texts, it is altogether requisite, that we should set down the number of sacraments according to the Church of Rome, and state the nature of a Christian sacrament, or else all that is said on both sides will neither tend to the ending this controversy about the number of the sacraments, nor edify any reader, much less those of ordinary capacities, for whose sakes especially this method and design was laid, of disproving Popery out of the word of God itself.

The sacraments of the Church of Rome are these seven, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction. Bellarmine was not able to produce any texts for the number of these sacraments, and it would be unreasonable to expect or demand any, since it is certain the holy Scriptures are very far from asserting so many sacraments.

This number of the seven sacraments was a long time in raising ; in the times of the Apostles, and for several centuries of the Church afterwards, the sacraments were but two, baptism and the Lord's supper. In the ninth century the number was increased but to three, for we find Rabanus Maurus, the great archbishop of Mentz (in his Treatise concerning the Institution of Clerks) mentioning and explaining only three sacraments, baptism, the body and blood of Christ, and chrism or confirmation. But after this in the twelfth century, the number was grown up to the full, and either Hugo de S. Victore, or Peter Lombard, was the first who taught that there were seven sacraments ; so that for all their pretensions to antiquity, and to uninterrupted tradition, the Church of Rome is not able to produce any one writer, that taught her number of sacraments, before the Church of God was near twelve hundred years old ; and yet notwithstanding so great reason for moderation and tenderness, as ought to be drawn hence, the Council of Trent was so severe and positive, as to curse all those who

should dare to affirm, that there were either more or fewer sacraments than those seven, which I have put down before.

This is the number of the sacraments about which the controversy is betwixt us and the Church of Rome. I must next consider the nature of a Christian sacrament; and herein there will be none occasion for controversy. The Council of Trent was so much set upon determining the number of the sacraments, and so hasty in letting fly her anathema against any that should dare to dissent from her, that she forgot to declare what was the true and proper nature of a Christian sacrament, which should in prudence have been stated and settled first.

However, the Catechism drawn up and published afterwards by order of the Council of Trent, will give us satisfaction herein. In the Catechism we meet with two definitions of a sacrament, the one out of St. Austin, which makes a sacrament to be "a visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification." The other, of the Catechism itself more expressly, that "a sacrament is a sensible thing, which by Divine institution hath a power not only of signifying, but of causing holiness and righteousness."

This definition gives us the true notion of a sacrament, and agrees in every branch of it with that definition of a sacrament, which we find in the Catechism of our own Church in her Liturgy; so that here we have nothing to debate, but to set down what are the things requisite according to both Churches, to the nature of a sacrament.

The first is, that there be a visible sensible sign.

2. That it confer a sanctifying grace on those who partake of it

3. That it have Divine institution.

These three are the qualifications of a true and proper sacrament, and these are so necessary, and of so determinate a nature, that both sides of us are agreed, that it is not in the power of any men or Church to alter or change them. Bellarmine hath a chapter (in his first book concerning the Sacraments) to prove, that it is unlawful either to add to, or diminish, or change the matter or form of a sacrament; and the chief reason he urges for it is, because the sacraments depend upon Divine institution, and have all their virtue from God; and therefore that cannot be a true sacrament, wherein we do not observe to keep to that which God hath instituted; and he makes it a grievous sacrilege to change the matter of any of the sacraments, and thinks the same charge ought to be laid

to any that should dare to change the form of any one of them.

Well then, having learnt from the Roman Catechism what is the proper nature of a sacrament, and from Bellarmine, that it is unlawful, nay, a grievous sacrilege to change the matter or form of any of the sacraments; I am now prepared to debate the controversy about the number of the sacraments, and to examine the proofs for the several particular sacraments.

As for two of the sacraments, to wit, baptism and the Lord's supper, they are allowed to be true sacraments by both sides, so that we have not any controversy with the Church of Rome as to their being sacraments or no; and therefore we must set them two aside. However, to explain to vulgar capacities the nature of a sacrament, and all the requisites of it, I will instance in the sacrament of baptism, and shew every one of the three essentials of a sacrament to be in it.

1. That baptism was instituted by God the Son, is evident from Matth. xxviii. 19, where the Apostles are commanded to go to all nations, and make disciples of them, by baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

2. That there was a matter or outward visible sign appointed for this sacrament, and that that visible sign was the element of water, is apparent from this and many other places of the New Testament, particularly from Acts x. 47, where Peter's question is, "Can any man forbid WATER, that these should not be BAPTIZED?"

3. That this sacrament of baptism doth confer on the person baptized, the grace of remission, of adoption and sanctification, is as plain from several texts, from Acts ii. 38, where the people are called upon to be baptized for the remission of their sins; from Acts xxii. 16, where baptism is said to wash away sins; from 1 Cor. xii. 13, where by one Spirit they are baptized into one body; and, to name but one text more, from 1 Pet. iii. 21, where baptism is directly said to save us.

Here we see not only the true nature of a sacrament, but how plainly every one of these are laid in Scripture. I come now to examine, whether Bellarmine hath had as good success in shewing, that every one of the five additional sacraments, which his Church would obtrude upon us, hath all these qualifications of true sacraments, and that they are as visible in Scripture as those which belong to the sacrament of baptism.

I will begin with their sacrament of confirmation; the nature of which it is somewhat difficult to find. Bellarmine

hath not dealt ingenuously with us herein, as it shall be made appear by and by ; and the Council of Trent will not yield us much help, since she was more careful to curse people that denied confirmation to be a sacrament, than to define the nature of it : one thing however we must thank her for, the letting us know that the matter of this sacrament is chrism.

We must then, to understand and find out what this sacrament of confirmation is, have recourse to the Roman Catechism,* and especially to Pope Eugenius's instructions for the Armenians in the Council of Florence ; from both which we form this description of confirmation, that it is an unction with chrism upon the forehead, in the form of a cross, by the hands of a bishop, by which the person confirmed doth receive strengthening grace from Christ the author of it. In this description of confirmation we meet with all the requisites of a true and proper sacrament. First, we have the visible sign or matter of this sacrament, chrism, which is a compound of oil of olives and balsam. Secondly, we have the grace conferred by it, *viz.* strengthening grace. Thirdly, we have the Divine institution of it, that Christ himself was the author of it. Besides these, we have the form of administering this sacrament in these words, “I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

This is a full and satisfactory account of the nature of this sacrament from their most authentic books. And now my business is to see what texts of Scripture the Romanists are able to produce to prove all these things. Bellarmine will not be drawn in here ; this account of confirmation, though attested by the constant visible practice of his Church, he cannot away with ; he was wise enough to know that the matter of this sacrament, *viz.* chrism, was utterly a stranger to the Scripture, and therefore he was aware how he engaged for it.

However, Bellarmine is resolved to prove this sacrament from Scripture, but then he spoils the whole business ; for instead of chrism's being the matter or visible sign of this sacrament, which the Council of Trent itself, the Catechism, and Pope Eugenius's instructions say it is, he very boldly makes imposition of hands with prayer to be the matter ; and upon this he undertakes to prove confirmation a sacrament against Chemnitius, and to shew every one of the three requi-

* Catech. Rom. pars 2. de Confirm. c. 3. [p. 161, &c. Lips. 1843.]

sites of a sacrament out of the Scripture. 1. That this sacrament of confirmation hath a promise of grace. 2. That it hath a sensible sign with the form by which this grace is applied. 3. That there is a Divine command for the ministration of this sacrament.

For the proof of the first, that this sacrament hath a promise of grace, he alleges John xiv. 16 : “ And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever ; ” John xv. 26, where the Comforter is said to be sent to testify of Christ ; John xvi. 8, “ And when he (to wit, the Comforter) is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment ; ” Luke xxiv. 49, “ But tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.” And lastly, Acts i. 8, “ But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you ; and ye shall be witnesses unto me,” &c.

I have put all these texts together, because they all relate to the very same thing, and therefore it was most requisite they should be answered together. Here is a promise of Christ to his disciples (troubled to hear of his departure from them) of his sending to them the Holy Spirit to be their Comforter, to be their guide and assistant, and supporter. This promise we find fulfilled on the day of Pentecost after his ascension, when the Holy Ghost appeared like cloven tongues, and sat upon each of them, and endued them with supernatural gifts and graces. And now what is all this to Bellarmine’s purpose, or the proof of confirmation ? Here we meet with a particular promise to the Apostles, particularly applied and made good to them : all which is nothing to the proving of a promise of strengthening grace annexed to the sacrament of confirmation, which is the thing Bellarmine undertook, and was to prove. Could Bellarmine have proved that it was by confirmation that the Apostles received such extraordinary assistances of the blessed Spirit, it had done his business, and effectually proved his point ; but he was so unhappy as not only not to say it himself, but to prevent, as much as in him lay, any one’s else affirming that ; for immediately under his proofs he tells us, that the Apostles, by a singular miracle and blessing, did receive the promised grace without any medium, or sacrament, on the day of Pentecost ; and therefore certainly without confirmation. So that his first undertaking of proving the promise of grace to this sacrament of confirmation, hath miscarried.

He next undertakes to prove, this sacrament hath an outward or sensible sign, and that this sign is imposition of hands with prayer, from Acts viii. 17.

But before I examine and give the true import of that text, I must debate with Bellarmine this point a little. Here he asserts imposition of hands with prayer, to be the sensible sign or matter of this sacrament of confirmation: and thereby contradicts his own Church; for not only the Council of Trent says, that chrism is the matter or sign of this sacrament, but the Roman Catechism doth as positively assert the contrary; the instructions of Pope Eugenius, for the Armenians in the Council of Florence, do not only assert the contrary, but tell us expressly, that confirmation or chrism is now given in the Church, instead of that imposition of hands mentioned Acts viii. 17. But I have a better witness than all these, to oppose Bellarmine with, and that is, Bellarmine himself; for though here he asserts imposition of hands, to be the sensible sign or matter of confirmation, yet within eight chapters of this we are upon, he doth set it down for a proposition, that **CHRISM OR UNCTION** is the **MATTER** of the sacrament of confirmation; so that Bellarmine hath brought matters to a fine pass, and is for overdoing his business, by proving this sacrament hath two signs, or else he must contradict himself.

The truth is, Bellarmine was forced to make a little bold with himself, and therefore knowing that chrism, which his Church had made the matter of confirmation, could no ways be proved from Scripture, he was forced to make imposition of hands the matter of this sacrament, which might have some pretences there.

But Bellarmine's contradicting himself is not more apparent here, than his strange disingenuity in palliating this matter, when Chemnitius had told them, that the passage about imposition of hands in the Acts, made nothing for the Church of Rome, since they had laid aside imposition of hands, and had brought chrism into its place: Bellarmine is not ashamed to deny it, and to affirm, that imposition of hands is still continued among them, and that the bishop in confirmation doth twice lay his hand on the person confirmed, once when he stretches his hand over them in prayer, the other time when he touches their forehead in anointing.

But such fetches are not becoming so learned a man as Bellarmine, nor such little arts as cannot be excused from untruth; for first, by their Pontifical it appears only, that the

bishop stretches his hand TOWARDS the person to be confirmed ; and I hope, I need not insist on proving,, that this is not laying his hands UPON that person. And for the anointing on the forehead, would any one but he, that knows not what to say, and yet will be saying something, affirm this to be laying on of hands? When the bishop touches only the forehead of the person, touches him only with his thumb, with the end of it only ? He that will prove imposition of hands is used in the confirming with chrism in the Church of Rome, may as easily prove, that imposition of hands is used in baptism, when the minister holds his hand over the child's face to baptize it, or in the communion, when the priest puts the wafer into the communicant's mouth.

But to pass all this shifting ; let us suppose for awhile, that imposition of hands is the matter of the sacrament of confirmation in the Church of Rome ; and then see their text for it. Acts viii. 17 : " And they laid their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost."

This is the place chiefly insisted upon by the Church of Rome, for the proof of their sacrament of confirmation. That a laying on of hands was used here, cannot be denied ; but that this was a rite of a sacrament instituted, ought to be proved. Bellarmine is not able to shew, that our Saviour commanded such an imposition of hands for such a purpose ; and that he knows is necessary to make anything of Divine institution.

But that which utterly deprives them of any assistance from this place is, that if this text concern the sacrament of confirmation, then when the Church of Rome doth use the imposition of hands mentioned in the text, she doth confer the same Holy Ghost that was conferred in the text. This nobody can deny me, since in both the other sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, all men grant, that the same grace and benefits are conferred in the administration of those sacraments now, that were conferred from the very institution of them. Upon the granting of this then, I demand to be shewn, those miraculous effusions and assistances of the Holy Ghost upon the use of confirmation now, that were visible then upon the Apostles' imposition of hands. It must be acknowledged, that the Church of Rome doth not pretend by her sacrament of confirmation, to confer any of those extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, which were conferred by the Apostles. How then, I pray, does she confer the grace of the text, if she cannot and does not confer the grace mentioned there, *viz.* the

Holy Ghost ? There is no foundation thence for her sacrament of confirmation.

And this is that which puts the matter beyond debate ; for that by the Holy Ghost in this text is meant, not such a sanctifying grace as is necessary to the nature of one of their sacraments ; but the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, the very same gifts with those conferred upon the Apostles themselves at the day of Pentecost, is abundantly apparent from the consideration of the effects. Upon the Apostles receiving the Holy Ghost, Acts ii. we find them immediately filled with the Holy Ghost, and enabled with the gift of tongues. Upon the Samaritans receiving the Holy Ghost in the text, by the imposition of the Apostles' hands, we find them endued with the very same power, for in the next verse it is said, as before of the Apostles, that the Holy Ghost was given them, which did discover itself in some visible manner to Simon Magus, as well as the rest, who otherwise would not have had occasion to bid money, for the having power by imposition of hands to confer the same Holy Ghost ; and what those visible effects were, we may justly gather from Acts xix. 6, compared with this place, where upon St. Paul's imposition of hands, the "Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues, and prophesied."

From all which together it is evident, that since by the Holy Ghost in the text, is meant the miraculous gifts of it, such as the gift of tongues, of prophesying, of miracles, and the like ; and the Church of Rome neither can nor does pretend to confer such extraordinary power by her sacrament of confirmation ; there is no footsteps of her sacramental grace of confirmation here : nor any reason for her to ground that sacrament upon this text.

But let us again suppose, that by the Apostles' imposition of hands here, was conferred only the ordinary gift of sanctifying grace ; yet this will not prove such imposition of hands to be a sacrament, except they of the Church of Rome can shew, that Christ did command and institute such a ceremony of imposition of hands for such a purpose. And this is what Bellarmine did undertake in the third place to shew, for this sacrament of confirmation. But instead of a text, he only falls to concluding, that the Apostles would not have used such imposition of hands, if they had not had their Lord's command for it. But this is concluding without using premises, and this is begging the question ; for as to the rite of

blessing by imposition of hands, the Apostles needed no more a command from our Saviour for that, than for kneeling at their prayers, both the one and the other being the frequent and known practice of the nation of the Jews, to whom the Apostles did belong, and therefore requiring no command for the use of them.

Before we can then grant to Bellarmine, or to the Church of Rome, that confirmation is a sacrament, they must prove that it was instituted by Christ, which Bellarmine is not able to do ; that it hath an outward visible sign appointed and set apart for it, which he was not able to do : and lastly, that it had a power of conferring sanctifying grace to the person confirmed, which Bellarmine is no more able to prove than either of the other two. I am sure the texts he hath brought, have been far enough from doing it for him.

Bellarmino hath two more texts, which do not so much concern the proving confirmation to be a sacrament, as that chrism was the matter of it. Certainly Bellarmine did look upon his own privilege to be very great, or his adversaries' memories and judgments to be very small, that he can so formally in one part of a book set himself to prove, that imposition of hands was the matter of the sacrament of confirmation, and allege Scripture for it ; and in another part of the same book, and within seven chapters of the former, set himself as formally to prove, that chrism made of oil of olives and balsam, was the matter of that sacrament, and alleged Scripture too for the proof of this ; the first of his texts for which is 2 Cor. i. 21, 22 : "Now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God ; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts."

From this place Bellarmine gathers, that by the anointing mentioned here, is either meant the outward ceremony of anointing used in confirmation, or an allusion is made to it : but to give a brief answer to this, Bellarmine supposes what he should prove ; he supposes there was then such a sacrament as confirmation, but he should have proved it : he supposes, that anointing with chrism was used then in this confirmation, but he should have proved this too. Without this he hath no foundation, either for his outward ceremony of anointing in this place, or for an allusion to it. The text itself is serviceable for no such purposes, the whole purport of it being, that God had given his Holy Spirit, which is metaphorically called the

unction from above, to those disciples, for to strengthen and confirm them in all holiness.

His other place is 1 John ii. 27 : “ But the anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you ; and ye need not that any man teach you. But as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie ; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.” This text falling in so directly with the other, needs but a word to answer it. Nothing is more plain than by unction here, is meant the Holy Spirit of God, which is here said to abide in them, to teach them, and to be truth itself. Can Bellarmine affirm any of these things concerning his chrism of oil of olives and balsam ? Does it abide in the faithful inwardly, does the oil teach them that are confirmed all things, or is the oil of confirmation truth itself ? To avoid the imputation of trifling as much as Bellarmine did in producing these texts, I will not spend any more words about them. But I must not forget the author of the Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel, who has another text for confirmation in reserve.

It is Heb. vi. 1, where laying on of hands is reckoned as a principle of the doctrine of Christ, and he tells us, that by laying on of hands here is meant confirmation. But this should have been proved as well as said ; for as to the laying on of hands mentioned here, it is altogether disputed among commentators whereunto it does belong ; whether to imposition of hands in ordination of pastors ; or to that imposition in reconciling of penitents to the Church ; or to the imposition of hands on the sick ; or to that used by the Apostles for conferring the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost ; or for that imposition of hands which from Apostolical institution was used by the bishops in ratifying and confirming that baptism to be perfect, which had been administered by priests or deacons ; or lastly, for that imposition used to persons new married. When the author of the Touchstone, or any friend for him, hath determined which of the several impositions is meant here, it will be time enough to offer him another answer to this place.

Upon the whole then, the reader cannot but see how little reason the Church of Rome had to make a sacrament of confirmation ; and to what odd shifts Cardinal Bellarmine was put to make some sort of a plea for her ; he was forced, in order to the having any show of benefit from Acts viii. 17, to deny the matter of confirmation now in use in his Church ; and by

urging that imposition of hands was the matter of that sacrament, to prove upon his own Church that she was guilty of a grievous sacrilege in altering and changing the matter of that sacrament. However, after all his shifts and his pains herein, there is not one syllable in Scripture for the Romish sacrament of confirmation. There is no institution of this sacrament to be met with there; not the least mention of their chrism there; nor any promise set down there of a sanctifying grace annexed to this sacrament. Every one of these requisites are owned by Bellarmine himself, to be necessary to the advancing any rite to the being of a sacrament: since then every one of these is wanting to this pretended sacrament, we ought to conclude, that there is no Scripture which proves confirmation to be a sacrament.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

For the better understanding of this pretended sacrament of penance, and the ground of their mistake about it in the Church of Rome, we ought to know, that the Romish doctors do not consider penitence inasmuch as it is a virtue of the soul, consisting of a detestation of sin, and a love of holiness, but as it shews itself outwards by certain sensible actions, such as confession is, or the like. It is upon this account that they have made it a sacrament of the New Testament, when it hath the priestly absolution joined to it.

To prevent therefore any mistakes about this matter, it is requisite to explain here what things they are, in which we are agreed as to repentance, and what things they are about which our controversy at present is with the Church of Rome.

We do acknowledge, as much as they can, the necessity of repentance in persons of years of discretion, and do look upon it to be so indispensably laid upon us, that it is impossible to be saved without repentance.

We are not against this repentance discovering itself outwardly to the world; a truly penitent man cannot but freely testify it both by his words and actions, according to that degree of hatred which he now hath against sin, and that affection which he now hath for works of holiness.

Nay, further, we add, that if any man, finding himself depressed and troubled in conscience, by reason of the nature or circumstances of his sins, discovers to his spiritual pastor the state of his conscience, as to a spiritual physician, to receive from him such comforts and directions as are necessary for

his condition and his cure; we cannot but commend his prudence. So far are we of the Church of England from discouraging any such care in spiritual concerns, that in our Liturgy it is sufficiently recommended to all pious Christians, and particularly in the exhortation about preparation for the worthy partaking of the holy communion, this very application to the minister of God's word for ghostly counsel and directions about our spiritual state, is recommended to all who find themselves labouring under any doubts or scruples concerning their condition, and the nature of their sins.

But notwithstanding all this, and our agreement with the Church of Rome thus far, we cannot see any reason to join with the Church of Rome, in making this repentance a sacrament of the new covenant; and our reason is, because we cannot find in Scripture all those qualifications and requisites to the nature of a true sacrament, annexed to their pretended sacrament of penance. We can find neither the institution, nor the matter or visible sign, nor the form of this sacrament of penance there. They of the Church of Rome say, they do not find all these things in Scripture; my present business is to inquire where.

Some of our adversaries are for finding the institution of this sacrament of penance, or repentance, in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew,* and the first of St. Mark,† where our Saviour bids them, "Repent and believe the gospel." But the Council of Trent has spoiled these men's guesses, for that hath defined that penance was no sacrament before our Lord's resurrection. And certainly, if this text of St. Mark be so proper to establish the sacrament of penance, why cannot we as well conclude thence that there is a sacrament of faith, our Saviour bidding them there to believe the Gospel, as well as to repent?

It was for this reason therefore, that that Council was for seeking the institution of this sacrament in John xx. 22, 23, where our Saviour says to his Apostles, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them."

This text is Bellarmine's sole foundation for the sacrament of penance. He observes, that there is in these words a plain and direct promise of remission of sins; and thereupon his next business is to gather hence some sensible sign or matter for his sacrament of penance; and he does it hence, because

* Matth. iv. 17.

† Mark i. 15.

that the power which our Saviour gives to the ministers of the Gospel, cannot be exercised without some exterior sign as well on their part, as on the part of the penitent. But to answer this :

There is no doubt to be made, that our blessed Lord in this place, doth confer the power to forgive sins on the ministers of the Gospel, as far as may be consistent with their condition ; we cannot deny neither that he hath promised to ratify their ministry, in freely granting his pardon to all those to whom they have declared the forgiveness of sins under condition of repentance. However, we desire to be shewed where the sensible outward sign of this promise of forgiveness of sins is to be met with ; and where the commandment was given to the Church to observe and to partake of it. Bellarmine and his brethren gather it hence, that the penitent sinner ought to testify his repentance in order to the receiving of his pardon ; and that the minister cannot declare the remission of sins without some exterior sign.

But, first, the institution of sacramental signs ought to be certain and determined ; not left to the fancies and humours of every particular person, as in this case it is, while one expresses his penitence one way, and makes that the sign of this sacrament, and another person expresses his another way, and makes that the sign of this sacrament ; at which rate could men express their repentance in a hundred different manners, they would thereby make a hundred different signs for this one saerament.

Secondly, It is not sufficient to make a thing a sacrament, because it hath some sort of a sign with a promise annexed to it ; otherwise the repentance which John the Baptist and the other prophets of the Old Testament preached, had been sacramental also, and ought to have been reckoned for a sacrament. Our Saviour says, Matth. vi. 14 : " If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you." Now would Bellarmine, or any of their men of sense, think fit hereupon to ground a sacrament, under pretence that our Saviour had made a promise in these words, and that men cannot pardon one another without some exterior sign to express it to one another ? In another place he hath promised his grace and his favour to them that assemble themselves in his name : this cannot be done without some exterior sign ; we must then, according to the Romish writers, have the institution of a new sacrament in those words of our Saviour.

Certainly sacramental signs, or the matter of sacraments, were never left by our blessed Saviour to the discretion of men to establish what they should think good therein, but were determined and appointed by God himself; and this, Bellarmine himself, when he is treating about the sacraments in general, is so far from denying or doubting, that he makes it a grievous sacrilege to change or alter the matter of any one sacrament: without this, as I have already observed before, while the opinions and thoughts of men are so very different, every man would be making and coining sacraments according to the variety of his fancies.

We have an instance of this extravagant and unreasonable fancy among the doctors of the Church of Rome, who are indeed agreed thus far, that there is a sacrament of penance, but are, notwithstanding, at mighty disputes among themselves, as well about the nature, as the form of this their so much contended-for sacrament of penance. One denies confession to make any part of this sacrament; a second assures us, that contrition, confession, and satisfaction make up the matter; that is to say, are the element or sign of this sacrament. A third will have the whole essence of this pretended sacrament, to consist in the absolution of the priest; a fourth is for holding that absolution is no more than the form. Whosoever will be at the pains to examine into these things, will find nothing here that ought to be called a sacrament.

The Council of Trent was willing to put an end to these controversies, and declared in favour of them who make contrition, confession, and satisfaction, to be the matter, that is to say, the element or sacramental sign here.

But this determination of that Council is as easily disproved as any of the particular doctor's opinions just mentioned. For,

First, Contrition cannot be the sensible sign of this sacrament, because it is a thing internal in the heart of the penitent, and it hath no resemblance at all to the justifying grace which is signed by it, inasmuch as the justifying grace doth rejoice and restore the soul, but contrition doth afflict and abase it.

2. Confession cannot be any more than contrition the sign of this sacrament, because its business is to declare the sin, and neither to declare nor exhibit the grace of the sacrament.

3. Satisfaction cannot be a sign, because it hath no resemblance at all to remission of sins; and absolution is often given without it, upon the bare promise of it, which oftentimes neither is, nor can be performed by the penitent, who for all that hath

had already the priestly absolution. In a word, suppose those three actions of the penitent sinner, had had some resemblance and analogy with the justifying grace which they are said to convey; yet for all that they cannot be sacramental signs, because they are the voluntary free actions of a man, and not natural signs, which are made to signify by an effect of divine institution, which thing these three want.

Is it not a strange fancy to make such a sacrament as is administered partly by the people, and partly by the priests, a sacrament that is, as to the form of it, administered to-day; but as to the sign, or at least part of the sign, is administered two or three years hence? As it happens, when the priest enjoins satisfactions, which are not to be accomplished by his own order in less than two years' time, and yet gave absolution to the penitent at the very hour he made his confession, and testified his contrition.

Suppose further, that the confession and contrition were only feigned and pretended, and that the person absolved takes no care in the world to perform the satisfactions enjoined him by the priest, and that the priest mistook in giving absolution to such a person, with the intention of conferring a true sacrament; will not this be a perfect chimera, made up of nothing else but contrarieties; a form without matter; a sacrament without any thing to administer it with? It is certain, that the priest cannot have any certain knowledge, whether he that comes to confession be a hypocrite or no; and consequently when he is giving the sacramental absolution, he cannot be assured that he administers a true sacrament.

In fine, I should be glad to understand why penance should be any more a sacrament now, than it was under the old law. Why John the Baptist, nay, our Saviour himself that preached repentance were not able, or had not power to administer the sacrament of penance, as well as any priests now in the world.

These pretend indeed, that before our Lord's resurrection, his ministers had not the power of giving absolution; but this is advanced for no other end, than to mount the priests of the present age above the prophets, and above Christ's forerunner himself, John the Baptist. However, at least our Saviour himself had this same power while he was upon earth, before his passion or resurrection; we find him exercising it towards some, to whom he declared in particular, that "their sins were forgiven."

I cannot see what reply any can make in defence of those,

who have asserted, that before our Saviour's resurrection no pastor had power to give absolution, while we find our Saviour practising it, as well as John the Baptist, long enough before. They will perhaps reply, that our Lord Jesus Christ, John the Baptist, and the prophets under the Old Testament, did not make use of the sacramental words, and say, "I absolve thee." But this is very easily answered, and may be retorted upon them, that if we ought to conclude that neither the prophets, nor John the Baptist, nor our Saviour himself, did forgive sins upon repentance, because we do not find it recorded, that they made use of the form, "I absolve thee," &c. they must give us leave to conclude the same thing against the Apostles, and against all pastors, even after our Saviour's resurrection, because we cannot find, and which is more, are sure that no body else can, that ever the Apostles or the pastors of the Church are recorded in the New Testament, to have forgiven sins by the form of absolution now in the Church of Rome, in the words, "I absolve thee," &c. And which is more, the text itself, upon which this whole sacrament of penance is built, to wit, "whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," hath not the word *absolution* in it.

After all, if in these words, "whosoever sins ye remit," the Romish masters find the sacerdotal absolution, which is the form of their sacrament; why may not we affirm upon the same principles, that the next words, "and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained," do point out to us the form of a sacrament, which ought to be looked upon as a sacrament directly opposite to the first, the pretended sacrament of penance.

To be short, I cannot but conclude, that this text out of St. John (which is the only text that Bellarmine had to allege for the proof of his sacrament of penance, though he to make an appearance that he had more, begins with his *firstly* but had no *second* for all that) does not in the least prove any of those things, which Bellarmine pretends to conclude from it. The remission here spoken of, concerns the Apostles' ministry, who had this large commission to forgive the sins of all people, "WHOSOEVER SINS ye remit, they are remitted;" in opposition to the Jewish state, which confined all the benefits and blessings of the Church of God to their own tribes, excluding all the world besides: this remission did concern all sins of whatever kind, in opposition to the Jewish state, wherein some sins were irremissible, such as idolatry, for which the guilty person was

to die. And this greatest and most enlarged blessing of remission of sins, was dispensed to all men, by admitting them by baptism unto the benefit of it; and this is often enough expressed in the New Testament, where people are said to be baptized for the remission of sins. This seems to be the full and true sense of this place, that this power of remission given to the Apostles by our blessed Saviour, was imparted to unbelievers by the sacrament of baptism, and to those within the Church, by restoring such of them to the communion of the faithful, who by their scandalous lives and actions had been separated from the Christian assemblies.

And this interpretation of this place will very much assist us to the disproving of the pretended sacrament of penance; since we see here, that penance is so far from deserving the honour of being a sacrament, that it is merely and properly a qualification for our worthy partaking of the sacrament of baptism.

To conclude, since we have no institution of such a sacrament mentioned in the Scriptures; since we can meet with no outward visible sign set apart for it (which by the bye, to give the Church of Rome their due, they themselves do not pretend to, who, instead of some visible element, set up some words, gestures and actions, which never yet were owned for an element or material sign); nor, lastly, meet with any particular justifying grace annexed to such a sign: since the only text which Bellarmine had to produce in defence of this pretended sacrament, ought to be taken in a quite different sense to that Bellarmine would use it in, and does concern the remission of sins by the sacrament of baptism; we ought to affirm that the Romish sacrament of penance was not of Christ's institution, and therefore ought not to be reckoned as one of his.

PART II.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF ORDERS.

BEFORE I undertake to examine this pretended sacrament, it cannot be amiss to remind the reader in a few words, of the nature of a sacrament. The Church of Rome and we are agreed thus far in this matter, that for any thing's being a true and proper sacrament of the New Testament, these three

qualifications be required. 1. That there be a visible sensible sign or matter of this sacrament appointed by our Saviour. 2. That it confer a sanctifying grace on those who partake of it. And, 3. That it have Divine institution.

It is requisite the reader should carry these things in his mind, that so he may be the better able to judge betwixt the Church of Rome and us, whether orders is or deserves the name of a sacrament.

I must also, before I examine their Scripture-proofs for this pretended sacrament, inquire after the nature of it, and wherein it consists, and will make their order of priesthood the instance. They tell us then, that the Council of Florence hath put an end to all controversies about the matter and form of the order of priesthood, by her declaration, that the matter or visible sign of the order of priesthood, is the delivery of a chalice with wine in it, and of a paten with bread upon it, into the hands of the person to be ordained ; and that the form is, *Accipe potestatem, &c.* “ Receive thou power of offering sacrifice in the Church for the quick and dead.”

Here then we find, that a chalice with wine in it, and a paten with bread on it, delivered to the person ordained, are the matter of this sacrament of orders ; and that the form of ordaining, is by giving a power to offer a sacrifice for the quick and dead. There are two things more for them to shew, that the delivery of this chalice and paten with that form, does confer and consign to the person ordained, sanctifying grace, and that all these things are of Divine institution ; and then I will acknowledge, that they have effectually proved orders to be a true sacrament.

Bellarmino is as ready as can be to undertake the defence of this pretended sacrament, but dares not begin without shuffling and disguising the matter. He was sufficiently aware, that the Council of Florence had declared the delivery of the chalice and paten to be the sensible sign or matter of this sacrament ; and he knew as well, that there was not a word of these things in the Scriptures ; and that he himself had already owned, that it was not in the power of any persons whatsoever, either to institute, or alter the matter of any of the sacraments. What was to be done then ? It was impossible to disown or dissemble his knowing these things, and yet he must prove from Scripture itself, that orders was a true sacrament.

He begins very formally with premising, that three things

are necessary to this sacrament,* the outward visible sign, the promise of grace, and the institution by God : and assures us, all these are to be met with in ordination, and does produce several texts of Scripture for it ; which it is my business at this time to examine.

As for the outward visible matter in this sacrament of orders, he tells us, that it is imposition of hands; and instances in Acts vi. 6, where deacons were ordained by imposition of hands. Acts xiii. 3, where Barnabas and Paul were ordained bishops by imposition of hands. Acts xiv. 23, where presbyters or elders were ordained in the same manner. And lastly, in Timothy's ordination by imposition of the hands of the presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6.

We can readily acknowledge, that in most of these places mentioned by Bellarmine, imposition of hands was the rite of ordination then, as it is to this day in the Church of England: but our business is not to know whether imposition of hands was used with prayers in ordination, but whether imposition of hands was instituted and appointed by our blessed Saviour, to be the outward visible sign of a sacrament of orders ; and for this Bellarmine himself was forced to own, that we read no where in Scripture that our Saviour did appoint his Apostles to ordain ministers by imposition of hands: I suppose the reason why we do not read any such thing there, is, because it is not there, and if it be not there, I think no more words need be thrown away, to shew that there is no institution of this visible sign of a sacrament of orders there.

But there is a stronger prejudice against all that Bellarmine is proving here ; and that is the determination of his own Church against him. Bellarmine tells us imposition of hands is the matter of this pretended sacrament ; the Council of Florence tells us, "that the delivery of the paten and chalice to the person ordained, is the matter of this sacrament ;" and which of these should we believe ? They both cannot stand. It would be tedious to expose all the wretched shifts Bellarmine used at this pinch ; I cannot but mention that about the words of this Council of Florence : to the objection, that imposition of hands could neither be the matter of this sacrament of orders (which Bellarmine asserted in his second chapter), nor a part of the matter (which the shuffling Cardinal contends only for in his ninth chapter), because the Council of

* Bellarm. de Sacram. Ord. l. 1. c. 2. [vol. 3. p. 715. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

Florence had declared the delivery of the paten and chalice to be the matter of that sacrament, without taking the least notice of imposition of hands : Bellarmine answers, “ that the Council did not explain the whole rite, but only a part of it.” A solution that will serve to prove any thing by, since there is no fence against it ; and any other person besides a Jesuit, would have been ashamed to use it.

However, after all, to be kinder to Bellarmine than the Council of Florence was, and to grant him, that imposition of hands is part of the matter of this pretended sacrament of orders ; I cannot see what service this can do him, whose business was to prove the matter of this sacrament from Scripture: could he prove imposition to be a part from Scripture, to what purpose is it, when he cannot prove the other part or parts of this matter thence ? And his business was, if he understood it, to prove the whole matter of this pretended sacrament thence.

But Bellarmine is an unhappy man, and ought to have been so prudent as to let the proof of this pretended sacrament alone, since I am sure he was so learned as to see plainly, that there was not the least foundation in Scripture for their chalice with wine, and their paten with bread, which the Council of Florence had sacrilegiously made the matter of their pretended sacrament of orders.

The next thing Bellarmine undertakes to shew is, that there is a promise of sanctifying grace annexed to this sacrament of orders. His texts for this are, 1 Tim. iv. 14, “ Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery :” And 2 Tim. i. 6, “ Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.” I have put his texts together, because they are almost in the same words, but do concern the same thing. By the “ gift of God ” in Timothy, mentioned here, Bellarmine would understand a sanctifying grace of God ; but this can no ways be allowed from these texts ; for by the gift of God here can be meant nothing else but Timothy’s authority and ability for the work of the Gospel, to which he had been ordained ; this is evident from the word wherewith St. Paul expresses it ; *Xάρισμα* is granted to denote one of these gifts which are bestowed, not for our sanctification or justification, but for our abilities to this or to that purpose or ministry ; as for example, the gift of healing, of miracles, of tongues, of

prophesying, or the like, which are owned by the schoolmen in the Church of Rome, to be *Gratiæ gratis datae*, not *gratum facientes*; not graces to sanctify us, as sacramental graces are, but graces to empower or enable to this or that work. This interpretation is favoured not only by the Fathers, but by some of their own Church of Rome. St. Chrysostom, Theodore, and Theophylact, understand by the “gift of God” here, *διδασκαλία*, doctrine, or the gift of teaching: others, among whom Cardinal Cajetan, interpret it to be *ἐπισκοπή*, the gift of governing: Salmeron will have it to be the “authority of teaching.” All which come to the same, and confirm our interpretation, that by the gift here, is not meant any sanctifying sacramental grace, but an ability to teach and govern the flock committed to his charge. And therefore, there is no countenance from these texts to make ordination a sacrament, since they cannot help it to a sanctifying grace, which is owned to be necessary to every sacrament.

Bellarmino's last attempt, in favour of this pretended sacrament, is to prove that it was instituted by God. This in order of nature should have gone first, but it is the Cardinal's way, when he knows not how to prove the institution, to put it last, and infer it from what he hath been talking before. I have already observed, how he owns that we do not read in express Scripture, that our Saviour commanded his Apostles to ordain ministers by imposition of hands; which is to give up his cause, when he was to prove it to be a sacrament: however, though in one page he has not express Scripture for imposition of hands, yet in the other page he does give us, such as it is, an institution and command for this sacrament of orders out of Acts xiii. 2, “Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them.”

But this text is far from proving the institution of their sacrament of orders. All that it proves is, that the Holy Ghost did reveal to some of the prophets in the Church of Antioch, that he would have them two ordained for the work whereunto he had called them: it is so far from proving an institution or appointment of orders to be a sacrament, that it does not prove the institution of orders themselves, which were certainly instituted long before, when our blessed Saviour breathed on his Apostles, and committed to them the ministry of reconciliation. Nay, had Bellarmine's text here proved the institution of ordination, yet is there a vast difference betwixt proving that our Saviour appointed orders in his Church, and

proving that orders is a sacrament ; which was Bellarmine's business, and he should not have confounded them.

His next text is Acts xx. 28, “ over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.” A few words will serve to answer this text, which proves indeed that there are orders, and ought to be a regular ordination in the Christian Church, but does not offer one syllable towards the proving that orders is a sacrament.

His last text is Ephes. iv. 11, “ And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists,” &c. The same answer that was given to his last text is suitable to this, which proves just what the last did, and what all wise men grant, that there are orders, and ought to be continued in the Christian Church.

One ought not to wonder that so great a man as Bellarmine could bring such weak and trifling proofs, where the best were necessary, and all little enough ; but it is not Bellarmine's, but his cause's fault, that is not capable of any just, nay, hardly plausible defence ; however, he ought not to escape censure, for that he would undertake to prove from Scripture, that orders was a true sacrament, when his own conscience could not but inform him, that such an attempt was vain and impossible ; and he could not be ignorant that that delivery of the chalice and paten, wherein his Church makes the matter of this sacrament of orders to consist, was not known to the Church of God for almost a thousand years ; that this was an invention of their own, and that therefore, according to his own doctrine, his Church of Rome is guilty of a grievous sacrilege, in making that delivery of the paten and chalice to be the matter of a sacrament ; which was never of Christ's, but of the Church of Rome's institution.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF MATRIMONY.

If so little could be said by Bellarmine, for making ordination a sacrament, what can we expect for this pretended sacrament of matrimony, which of all the seven, can have the least to be said for it ? Bellarmine was very hard put to it upon this point, and turns himself and his arguments every way, to make some sort of a show, as if he had proved matrimony to be a sacrament.

He does not abound with his texts here, as he was wont to do upon the other sacraments, but is for fetching this whole

sacrament, institution, sign and grace, all out of one poor text. Every one will easily guess the reason of this to be because Scripture is a stranger to matrimony's being a sacrament of the New Testament.

I must therefore be the shorter upon this pretended sacrament, and produce Bellarmine's confessions, where we cannot have his texts. We have been all along agreed, that a Divine institution is necessary to a sacrament of the New Testament. We demand therefore, in order to our believing the Council of Trent, which hath made matrimony to be a sacrament, and hath cursed us if we will not say so too, to be shewn in what part of the New Testament matrimony was either first instituted, or made to be a sacrament.

One would wonder how it got into these men's heads, to make that instituted in the New Testament, which had been instituted in Paradise so many thousand years before. Bellarmine was not insensible of this very thing; and therefore, as to our demand about proving the Divine institution of this pretended sacrament of matrimony, from some plain place in the New Testament, he begs our pardon, and will not be drawn in, but does however assure us that it is to no purpose to labour so much about proving the institution.

But this is not to satisfy but to cajole; and though he does not, because unable to do it, yet we do think it absolutely necessary for them to prove its institution before we can believe it to be a sacrament.

Bellarmino therefore, knowing what straits he was in, is for taking a new method, and that is, for proving matrimony to be a sacrament; "and if it be a sacrament," says he, "it must have been instituted by Christ, it must have an outward sign, and a sanctifying grace annexed to it."

All this is very true, that if matrimony be a true sacrament, it necessarily hath all these qualifications; but the great danger here, is, that Bellarmine will suppose it, instead of proving it to be a sacrament. His text for proving matrimony a sacrament, is Ephes. v. 32: "This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." From these words Bellarmine collects, and endeavours at large to prove their sacrament of matrimony. He pretends indeed, that they do not make it a sacrament merely because of the word mystery, or sacrament, in this verse; and he gives this reason, because the word sacrament is found in other places joined to some things, which are not for all that advanced by them into the number of sacraments. But in answer to this, we can assure

them, that if they do not ground this their pretended sacrament of matrimony upon the bare word here, they can find nothing at all to ground it upon ; since all Bellarmine's reasons and shifts together, will not be able to shew that the great mystery spoken of here, does relate to the conjunction of man and wife ; it is evident to all unprejudiced men, 1. That by mystery here, is meant no more than a great or surprising secret which we are unacquainted with. 2. That this great secret is meant by St. Paul to be the union betwixt Christ and his Church. There is no need of words to confirm this, for St. Paul himself, as soon as ever the words were out of his pen, sufficiently explains wherein this mystery was, and whereto he attributed it. "But I," says he, "speak concerning Christ and the Church ;" as if he had said, "This is a great mystery ; mistake me not, as if I looked upon the conjunction of man and wife to be a mystery, which is far from being such, being taught us, and implanted by the light of nature. No, my meaning is, that the union of Christ and his Church is a great mystery."

Bellarmino was not content to prove matrimony to be a sacrament from this text, but will needs see in it a promise of sanctifying grace too. I must confess some men's eyes are better than others ; however, I can give no reason why I should see nothing at all here. He will have it that matrimony signifies the spiritual union betwixt Christ and his Church, and that it cannot signify, except there be a spiritual union of their souls ; and that there cannot be such a spiritual union, without God give them grace.

But all this pleasant fancy hath no sort of foundation. And matrimony hath not been hitherto proved a sacrament ; and so all the rest falls to the ground. And further, why could not matrimony signify the union of Christ and his Church, without causing a sanctifying grace too ? Cannot some things signify without effecting too ? This is strange concluding, but what can help it, when men will be proving that which cannot be proved ! He hath another text for his sanctifying grace of matrimony, 1 Tim. ii. 15, "Notwithstanding she shall be saved in child-bearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety."

Here Bellarmine finds four great blessings of matrimony, faith, charity, holiness and sobriety ; that the wives received these in matrimony, or else the Apostle would not have talked of their continuing in them.

But did ever man dream before at this pleasant rate ?

Whence is it that Bellarmine gathers that the wives have these gifts bestowed on them in matrimony? Is there any other thing required of these more than of virgins or any other, who must, if they will be saved, continue in faith, charity, holiness, and sobriety, as well as any of the wives? At this rate every state and condition of life may be made a sacrament. The true sense of the place is, that though the woman was first in the transgression, and so ruined man, yet that she shall make amends by bearing children, and bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

His next text is 1 Cor. vii. 7: "But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that." He argues from this, that matrimony is a gift of God; and what then? Must it for that reason be a sacrament, and have a sanctifying grace? At this rate we should have sacraments enow. And to go no further than this text, virginity must be a sacrament too, since it is, as much as matrimony, a gift of God.

His last text is 1 Thess. iv. 4: "That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour." In sanctification (to wit, says Bellarmine) which they received in matrimony. This he says indeed, but the text does not; and our business is to hear that speak, and not Bellarmine. It is in vain to argue with a man, whom from a duty incumbent on all men married and unmarried, will, contrary to all logic and sense, be inferring a particular grace annexed to a particular sacrament.

And now, what other judgment can be made of these things, than that Bellarmine was almost as much satisfied as any of us, that matrimony can be no sacrament? He always used to insist on the Divine institution, on the outward sign or matter. We have had a great deal of ado about the grace, but nothing of news about institution, or the outward sign. Bellarmine knew his sacrament wanted these, and therefore was for making a great dust about the other. However, since Bellarmine cannot deny that no institution of this sacrament appears in the New Testament, that there is no outward sign or matter, or form for it to be met with there, and that his texts for a sanctifying grace, were altogether forced and perverted from the sense given them by the best commentators; he ought to have concluded, if not with us, yet with their own canonists and Durandus, that matrimony is not a true and proper sacrament.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.

We are now arrived to their last sacrament, that of Extreme Unction, which the Council of Trent hath decreed to have been instituted by our Saviour himself, and published by his Apostle St. James. It is called extreme unction, because it is the sacrament of those who are just dying, and is to be given to none but such as are looked upon to be past recovery. The matter of it is oil blessed by a bishop, and the sanctifying grace, or effect of it, is the cleansing the person anointed from the remains of all sins committed either by seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, or touching. This being the nature and a true account of this pretended sacrament of extreme unction, we must now see what texts the Papists have to prove this sacrament.

The first text mentioned by Bellarmine, is Mark vi. 13 : “And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.” But this text is not insisted on by Bellarmine, and he tells us that their own writers are divided ; some making the anointing here, and that in St. James to be the same, while others are as earnest that this anointing in St. Mark, cannot be their sacramental unction, since it plainly refers to miraculous bodily cures, whereas sacramental unction belongs to the soul properly, and is concerned about remission of sins. Bellarmine himself espouses this latter opinion, and one of his wisest reasons for it is because those vile heretics, Luther, Calvin, and Chemnitius, were of the other opinion : and indeed it would have been very unseemly for a cardinal to be found in such company. We need trouble ourselves therefore no further with this text than only to remark, that by the confession of our adversaries, the anointing in St. Mark was a ceremony of a miraculous cure of diseases, and that the effect of that anointing was a restoring the sick persons to bodily health ; neither of which can by any means be brought to agree with the pretended sacrament of extreme unction ; the anointing in which, according to the Council of Trent and Romish writers, respects the disease of the soul, and the effect is a remission of sins.

But what was wanting in this, will be fully supplied in the text from St. James, wherein Bellarmine tells us, we find all the requisites of a true sacrament laid down together, James v. 14, 15 : “Is any sick among you ? Let him call for the elders

of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

Bellarmino triumphs with this text, but without any reason, since should it prove a sacrament, yet it does not prove their sacrament of extreme unction. And there are these two plain differences visible betwixt this anointing in St. James, and the Popish pretended sacrament of extreme unction.

1. That this anointing in St. James was to be administered to any that were sick ; whereas the Romish extreme unction is to be administered only to those who are just a departing, and past all hopes of recovery.
2. The anointing in St. James, was to restore them to bodily health primarily ; but the Romish unction's design is primarily the cleansing of the soul, and remission of all the remainder of sins. And this is sufficient to shew, that the passage in St. James does not defend, nor favour the pretended sacrament of extreme unction.

It is very easy to explain and evidence the two differences I have assigned. That the anointing in St. James, was to be administered to any sick, is too plain. "Is any sick among you?" He does not say, "Is any sick to death among you?" but supposes all like capable, if God pleased, of that anointing. I need not stay to shew, that the Romish extreme unction is to be administered only to such as are looked upon as dying ; upon which very reason, they themselves call this extreme unction, *Sacramentum Exeuntium*, the sacrament of the dying.

The truly remaining difficulty is to prove, that this anointing here did primarily respect bodily cures : that it did, cannot be denied us by those Papists, who make the anointing here, and in St. Mark, to relate to the same effects. Maldonate says, they do : and then I am sure, Bellarmine ought to grant us, that this anointing in St. James, does relate to bodily cures, to a restoring the sick persons to health, since it is evident to a demonstration, that the anointing in St. Mark does relate to nothing else : it is plainly said there, "that they ANOINTED WITH OIL many that were sick, and HEALED THEM."

But there is no need of any of their concessions to prove this ; the passage itself in St. James, cannot without violence be interpreted to any other sense ; for upon the sick man's calling for the elders, and their praying for and anointing him, the effect we are told should be, that "the prayer of faith should

save the sick ;” by which can be only meant, the restoring him to bodily health, since to save a sick man, is in propriety of speech, to save or rescue him from his sickness; which is thoroughly confirmed by the next expression in St. James, “and the Lord shall raise him up ;” that is, restore him to his former strength and health.

This fair interpretation might be further confirmed from those ancient offices in the Church for anointing the sick, in which the old prayers run for a restitution (upon anointing) to bodily soundness, and deliverance from all pain and languor; this however, is sufficient to shew, how altogether unlike extreme unction this anointing in St. James was: in extreme unction they own and declare, that its proper end and design is the cleansing the anointed person from all remainders of sin, and not only their prayers upon that occasion, but the form itself of administering that unction, do themselves tell it us. So that what can be more different than these two unctions? And what reason has the Romish extreme unction to plead for its being the unction mentioned in St. James?

There is but one objection to be made to this interpretation, that this passage cannot relate wholly to bodily cures, since in the last words of it it is said, “and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.” In answer to which, we say, that we do not affirm that the effect is wholly bodily cures, but that this anointing does primarily and chiefly relate to bodily cures. As for the forgiveness of sins, it was sometimes the consequence of such a restitution to bodily health; but did not always attend it, since the Apostle makes it to be when the person hath committed sins: in which words he could not mean any ordinary sins, for all men are guilty of them, and therefore all that were cured, must have been forgiven. Also the Apostle’s supposition, doubtless, does relate to some extraordinary sin the sick person might have been guilty of, and for which God might inflict that sickness: so that the sense of this must be, that if the sick person had been guilty of some sin for which God did inflict that disease upon him, it should for his comfort be forgiven him.

And this passage is far from helping the Romish writers for their extreme unction, since it is plain this remission was not general to all sick persons, but was limited to some who might have been guilty of such a sin, as brought that bodily sickness for a punishment upon him: but theirs in extreme unction equally concerns all, and their anointing does equally

good to all, if it do any good at all ; which I am sure it does not, but is an instrument to delude and ruin poor souls that trust to it.

In a word, Bellarmine cannot but own, that if this passage of St. James does not prove their pretended sacrament of extreme unction, they cannot prove it from Scripture. I have proved that it is not to be found there, so that the Romish writers are bound to own at last with us, that the pretended sacrament of extreme unction hath no foundation in Scripture, but that it was unjustly grounded upon a passage of St. James, which did concern a miraculous cure of diseases, which was to cease, and hath long since ceased to be in the Christian Church.

Having done with Bellarmine's texts, I have but one to consider from the author of the Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel, Mark xvi. 18 : "They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." But with this wise author's leave, where is there a syllable here of extreme unction, of any unction at all ? But suppose it had been, would it not plainly have referred to bodily health ? Bellarmine shall answer this ignorant scribler, and tell him, that this imposition of hands, or anointing, cannot relate to their sacramental unction ; since it is not more plain, that their sacramental unction does relate to the soul and its diseases, than that the unction pretended to in this passage, does concern the body and its distempers.

CONCERNING THE EFFICACY OF SACRAMENTS.

It would not at all answer the design of these papers, to perplex the reader with all the niceties and distinctions about this matter of the efficacy of sacraments in the Romish writers : it is sufficient to acquaint him, that they differ as much as possible, and have been as far from being friends among themselves, as with us. To make this matter as intelligible as we can, it is requisite to lay down how far we agree with the Church of Rome, as to the efficacy of sacraments, and wherein we differ from them.

We acknowledge, as well as they, that the sacraments were not instituted by our Saviour to be mere signs, but that they are efficacious of the grace for which they were instituted, and instruments to convey the grace to us which they signify. Our difference is about their nature, that is, what sort of instruments they are ; the Council of Trent hath defined, that

they confer grace *ex opere operato*; which, if I understand the explication of this barbarous phrase, is, that the efficacy of the sacraments depends neither upon the goodness of the minister, nor of the receiver, but upon the work being done, upon the sacrament being rightly administered. The Council adds indeed, that it is thus operative or efficacious only, *non ponentibus obicem*, to those who do not put a bar in the way: their meaning in which, is, that the sacrament does confer the grace of it upon every person that receives it, provided he have not a will directly opposite to the sacrament he is about to receive. As for instance, when he is to be baptized, that he be not resolved not to be baptized, or not to believe in the Trinity, or not to renounce his sins. The Council certainly did put in this very wisely, or else they had made a strange thing of Christianity, and made it the derision of atheists and scoffers.

But we are sure they ought to have added more, and one reason is, because we believe that to baptize a man when he is asleep, is not effectual to him, though we are well assured the man is not guilty of putting any bar in the way.

Upon the definition of the Council of Trent, they are generally agreed since, that the sacraments do work their effect by virtue of an inherent quality fixed in them, as glowing iron heats water, or a charm works cures. And this is what we can by no means agree with them in, because such a virtue in the sacraments is contrary to the great design of Christianity, which is founded upon covenant, and consigns all its graces and benefits to those only, who have such dispositions and preparations as it requires. Faith and repentance, and a resolution to lead a Christian life, are the conditions, without which no man receives the benefit of remission of sins in baptism; and not merely a resolution not to be point-blank opposite to the design of the sacrament: this were to make Christianity not only a quite different thing from what it is, but a most ridiculous thing too, when a man shall come to baptism (for instance), and tell the minister, Sir, I understand your baptism will have a most notable effect upon me, and forgive me all my sins, without giving me any trouble about it: I must confess I have no great knowledge of it, nor any preparation for it; but I hear these are not necessary. I do assure you I do not mock you, and that I have no resolution not to be baptized, or to receive no benefit, and that I hear is all the qualification that you make necessary; which I assure you I have, or else

I would not have come hither, and therefore, pray Sir, baptize me.

Such doctrine, as it is derogatory to the temper of Christianity, so it is far from being taught, or being countenanced in the Scriptures. Bellarmine pretends to a great many texts for it, which I will briefly examine.

His first is a set of four texts out of Matth. iii., Mark i., Luke iii., John i., where John the Baptist says, “I indeed baptize you with water to repentance—He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost.” From this Bellarmine argues, that there is as much difference betwixt the efficacy of John’s baptism, and our Saviour’s, as there is betwixt water and the Holy Ghost. Well, and suppose this should be granted him, yet how does this prove that baptism is efficacious by an inherent virtue? This indeed is Bellarmine’s conclusion, but it is not in the text, nor any thing like it.

His second text is Mark xvi. 16, “He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved:” that is, saith Bellarmine, baptism shall save him, which cannot be done but by washing away the filth of his sins. But how comes faith to be forgotten, and to have no share here? If Bellarmine conclude such effects for baptism, and we for faith, we must desire to know whether faith have that inherent intrinsic virtue which they talk of; but there is no reason to conclude any such thing of either of them, since all the text proves is, that salvation shall be the consequence of faith and baptism, and not that baptism doth work this by any inherent virtue, any more than uncircumcision doth by an inherent virtue cut off a soul from Israel, notwithstanding it be said of it, “that the uncircumcised shall be cut off from his people.”

Bellarmino’s third text is, John iii. 5, “Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

I will add his other texts, relating to the same thing, that so I may dispatch them together.

Acts ii. 38, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.”

Acts xxii. 16, “Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.”

Ephes. v. 26, “That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.”

1 Pet. iii. 21, “The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God).”

These are his texts, and now to what purpose are any of them brought here? It is granted, that baptism is ordinarily necessary to salvation, that God hath made it the instrument of remission, of regeneration, and of salvation to us; but though this is all which these texts prove, yet this is not all which Bellarmine should have proved; his purpose was to shew, that baptism did work all these things by an inherent virtue, as a hot iron heats water; but these texts say no such thing, and some of them the contrary, for instance, Ephes. v. 26. where the sanctification is attributed to the word upon the washing.

His next text is Acts viii. 18, "And when Simon saw that through laying on of the Apostles' hands, the Holy Ghost was given;" to which he adds 2 Tim. i. 6, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." These two texts are nothing to the purpose; for we have already proved, that confirmation (to which they will have the first text to belong) is no sacrament, nor orders, concerning which the other text speaks; so that being no sacrament, they have nothing to do in this controversy about the efficacy of sacraments. And further, I have above proved, that by the Holy Ghost in the text from the Acts, is meant the extraordinary gifts of it, for tongues, miracles, and the like; and that by the gift of God in Timothy, is understood only an ability and authority for to discharge the office in the Church he had been ordained to.

The last text that Bellarmine troubles us with is, 1 Cor. x. 17, "For we being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." He argues here, that the participation of the one bread is the cause of our being one body. This is readily granted him, that as by participation of the sacramental bread in remembrance of Christ's meritorious passion, we are united to Christ; so we are to one another, by partaking of that one bread, and being united to the One Christ in his mystical body; and this is the sense of this place; but as to the sacramental bread's working this by an inherent virtue, there is not one word, or the least intimation in this place.

These are all Bellarmine's texts for the physical efficacy of his sacraments: how unserviceable they have been to him, the meanest reader cannot but see; and no wonder, since such pretensions are contrary to the method of Christianity laid down by our blessed Saviour. Whosoever will examine the Scriptures seriously, will find, that as the sacraments are cove-

nants, so there are several qualifications required, without which the sacraments will be of no more efficacy to the person receiving them, than they would be to a dead man ; for to the receiving any benefit by baptism, the Scriptures inform us, that faith and repentance, with a resolution to be Christ's faithful disciples, are required of every one to be baptized ; that upon the account of these they are admitted into covenant with God, and have a right to the merits and benefits of our Saviour's passion, which was undergone by him for the sins of the whole world.

Nor is the design of the other sacrament of the Lord's supper different from this ; it is to remember us of the infinite goodness of our Saviour's dying for us, to unite us to Christ, and thereby to instate us, and confirm to us a share in his merits : none of which it doth or can do, without our being fitted by serious examination, and hearty repentance for such an union with Christ ; and this is sufficient to shew, that the sacraments do not work physically or like a charm, but that as good men upon such preparations receive the benefits, and find the efficacy of each sacrament, so wicked men receive no benefit by them, nor can be united to Christ by them, which yet they would for all their wickedness be, if so be the sacraments received did as certainly work their effect, as a sharpened razor cuts, or fire burns.

To conclude ; as we believe that the two sacraments were designed by God for blessings to us, to convey such grace and assistance as he thought fit, and not to be mere signs ; so we cannot believe that God made them such physical instruments, or did give them such an inherent virtue as to confer grace *ex opere operato*, upon every receiver ; because we are sure this would be to dishonour those things which are the most beneficial, and most honourable in the Christian religion.

AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE
CONCERNING THE
NECESSITY OF THE MINISTER'S INTENTION
IN
ADMINISTERING THE SACRAMENTS.

AMONGST all the opinions of the Roman Church, there is scarce any so strange, if we except their doctrine of transubstantiation, as that which they hold, concerning the necessity of the minister's intention to make the sacraments valid and effectual. This doctrine is so absurd in itself, and is attended with such terrible consequences in their religion, that we might be afraid to attribute it to that communion, if they had not so expressly declared themselves on that point. And if all their authors, who have considered the horrid consequences of this opinion, had not made it appear, that the same are not capable to rescue them from an error, so pregnant in absurdities. It is for the interest of Christian religion, not to charge her with imposing upon her professors such strange opinions. It is the interest of Protestants to make it appear, they have had all the reason in the world to reject so absurd a doctrine, which the Romanists would have forced upon them under the penalty of an anathema. It is the interest of Roman Catholics, to consider, into what confusion the blind obedience they profess for the pretended infallibility of their guides, doth cast them. Indeed, it seems as if God suffered them to be mistaken in such points, where the absurdity is so very palpable, to the end the people in subjection to them, might the more easily disabuse themselves about the privilege of infallibility, which the Roman Church with so much confidence doth arrogate. That the readers may reap this fruit from the examination I here undertake of the article, I have prescribed to myself these orders, which I intend closely to keep to. 1. I shall set down what the Roman Church at present believes concerning the necessity of the minister's intention in order to the validity of the sacraments. 2. I shall make it appear, that Scripture doth not at all favour this opinion of the Romanists.

3. I shall make out, that tradition is diametrically opposite to it.
4. I shall shew, that all the Christians in the world that are not of the Romish communion, are either wholly ignorant of this article, or positively oppose it ; and in so doing, I shall follow exactly the method which *Vincentius Lirinensis* hath set down for to confute any error :* “We must,” saith he, “follow the universality, antiquity, and consent of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

For what concerns the belief of Rome, we may say with the Cardinal Brancati, that the Council of Constance, assembled in 1415, hath defined the necessity of the intention of the minister of the sacraments to make them effectual. But for as much as that Council gave a great check to the Papal power, we find the greater part of the Romish divines rather refer themselves to the definition made by Pope Eugenius IV. after the Council of Florence, in his decree of faith prescribed to the Armenians : “All the sacraments,” saith he, “are performed by three things ; by the things themselves, as the matter, by the words as the form, and by the person of the minister, who confers the sacrament with intention to do what the Church doth.” Leo X. has followed the steps of Eugenius IV. in his bull against Luther, Art. 12. The Council of Trent hath authorized this definition, Sess. 7. Can. 11, “If any one say, that at least the intention of doing that which the Church doth, is not requisite in the ministers whilst they administer the sacraments, let them be anathema.”

If we make a serious reflection upon these definitions of the Roman Church, it will plainly appear, that though ordinarily they condemn the comical representation of the sacraments ; as for instance, if the priest should celebrate the sacrament in jest or mockery ; yet they suppose this to be a true celebration, notwithstanding that herein he hath acted contrary to the order and respect due to the sacrament. Surely a man must be concluded out of his wits to take this profanation for a sacrament ; and yet the divines of that communion do at this day unanimously assert, that if a priest pronounceth in the midst of a market, the words of the sacrament, with intention to do what the Church doth, he transubstantiates all the bread he sees, and makes a sacrament. This is evidently deduced from their hypothesis, as the most part of the latter schoolmen do acknowledge. And though they declare, that

* *Commonit. 1. cap. 38. [p. 355. Par. 1684.]*

in such a case, the intention of the priest is not right, yet they conclude, that if any one should have an intention to consecrate the body of Jesus Christ, to abuse it in some kind of sorcery ; this undue intention would not hinder the perfection of the sacrament, the abuse being posterior to the intention. This is the decision of Binsfeld, in his *Theologia Pastorum, de Sacrament.* cap. 1. After so strange an opinion, we may be the less astonished at the office, which for many ages has been celebrated in many cathedral and collegiate churches, and was called the Feast of Fools ; I say, that this was a particular office, because Durand, bishop of Mande, hath set down the rites and manner of it in his Divine Offices, Lib. 7. c. 42. Eudes, bishop of Paris, makes mention of it in one of his epistles, published a while since. The thing is so strange, that it is hard to be believed; this was not a religious ceremony, but a real profanation publicly practised, not only in France but also in England, where the public office of this feast is upon record, as Mr. Gregory shews in a treatise on that subject. There is reason to bless God that this office hath at last been abolished. But after all, the eucharist thus celebrated was notwithstanding to be looked upon as a true sacrament, if the priest had the intention of doing what the Church does. If the Church of Rome were of another mind, it would be very surprising to see them seriously to make use of a fable concerning St. Athanasius, when yet a child, who having been, as they say, chosen bishop by other children of his age, did proceed to baptize them, which baptism was judged to be valid, because he had the intention of baptizing them. Now this being only children's play, how comes it to pass, that they hold that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, could authorize this baptism ? Hermant,* canon of Beauvais, gives us the ecclesiastical history of this ridiculous fable. But he hath not cured the Romish divines of their folly, which makes them allege the action of Alexander, as if he had reason to do what he did in authorizing by his approbation so visible a profanation and derision of a sacrament of the Christian Church, upon the pretence that St. Athanasius, forsooth, had declared, that he had an intention to do what the Church doth.

2. It appears that they do not content themselves with that exterior attention, which is used in administering the

* Life of S. Athanas. tom. 1. p. 687.

sacraments, and which may make one believe, that the action is done seriously. They believe with common consent, that attention may be wanting in a priest ; and common sense suggests, that though a man may seem attentive to what he is doing, yet he may be subject to distractions therein, especially when the action takes up some considerable time : indeed no man believes the sacrament to be invalid, though the minister might suffer some distraction in reciting the prayers of the liturgy. As to the inward attention, that either respects the action one is about in celebrating the sacrament ; or else the nature of the sacrament and its effects, which consists in pious reflections ; I own they require both these as a duty of piety, but they believe the first of these to be so little needful, that if a priest who pronounces the words of consecration, should forget that he has pronounced them, they pretend it is not necessary that he should pronounce them over again, upon this doubt ; for which Tolet* gives this conclusive reason : " Because," saith he, " we utter many words by use and custom, which we do not remember, upon reflection, to have spoken." And for the second kind of attention to the nature of the sacrament, and its effects, they suppose it of little moment as to the validity, or invalidity of the sacrament : if the priest make any such reflections, it is on his own account. But the question at present is to know, what it is that makes the sacrament valid.

3. It is plain, that they mean an inward disposition, which they express in these terms, " That he have an intention to do that which the Church doth :" it is evident, I say, that they suppose an act of the understanding, which knows what the Church doth, and an act of the will, by which a man saith in himself, I will do that which the Church doth. Indeed, if by this intention the Roman Church did only understand an act of the will to perform the external act of baptism, for instance, or to pronounce the words of consecration, without requiring any other internal intention, they could not rationally condemn the Protestants, who are not so stupid to imagine, that a man can perform an external act ; as for instance, that of baptizing, or pronouncing words, as is done outwardly in the Church, without the said act be commanded by the will. This was so thoroughly the belief of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, that when Catharin, who was altogether of our opinion,

* Tolet. Instruct. Sacerd. lib. 2. c. 9. sect. 8.

represented to them the bad consequences arising from their determination of this article, wherein they followed the common opinion of the schoolmen for some ages, they were not in the least moved at those consequences, but swallowed them without any more ado.

This fact is so important to the right understanding of the state of the question between the Church of Rome and us, that it is requisite to relate the same, as it is set down by Father Paul, in his second book of the history of that Council. "Here," saith he, "Catharin, bishop of Minori, proposed a memorable thing, and which was judged by all worthy of due consideration, and very weighty, *viz.* he saith, that as to the Lutherans, who attribute no other virtue to the sacraments, but that of exciting faith, which may be awakened by other means, the receiving of the true sacrament is of small importance; wherefore also they say, that it is not necessary, and yet they hold it to be an absurd thing, that the malice of a wicked minister, who hath no intention to confer the true sacrament, can be any prejudice, because we are to regard what the believer receives, and not what the minister gives him. But as for the Catholics, who attribute to the sacrament the virtue of conferring grace, it is of very great moment, that they be assured of their receiving the true and efficacious sacrament, forasmuch as it very rarely happens that grace is obtained by any other means. And certainly, little children, and distracted persons, do not receive grace by any other means, and the common people have ordinarily so small and weak a disposition, that without the sacrament it would never be sufficient for the receiving of grace: moreover, those few persons, that are as rare as Phœnixes, which have a perfect disposition, do notwithstanding receive a greater degree of grace by the sacrament. If it should happen, that a priest that hath the charge of four or five thousand souls, should be an unbeliever, but withal a great hypocrite, and that in the absolution of penitents, at the baptism of little children, and consecration of the eucharist, he should have a secret intention not to do what the Church doth, we must conclude the little children damned, the penitents unabsolved, and all deprived of the fruits of the holy communion: and it avails nothing to say here, that faith supplies that defect, because that cannot be true in infants, and in others it cannot, according to the Catholic doctrine, do the effect of the sacrament; and if it can in case of the minister's wickedness, forasmuch as the same

may be constant and perpetual, why might it not do the same always? Besides, that the assigning so great virtue to faith, is to take away that of the sacraments, and to fall into the opinion of the Lutherans.

"He offered it also to their consideration, how great would be the affliction and anguish of a tender father for his child at the point of death, if he should have any doubt concerning the intention of the priest that baptizeth it: likewise in what anxiety would a catechumen be, who finding in himself only a small and very imperfect disposition, and notwithstanding presenting himself to receive baptism, should he come to doubt whether the priest might not be a false Christian, and have no intention at all of baptizing him, but only to dip or wash him in jest and sport? That the same thing might be considered in confession, and receiving the communion. And if it be said, proceeded Catharin, that these cases are very rare; would to God it were so indeed, and that in this corrupt age there were not reason to suspect them but too frequent. But suppose they be very rare, and that there were but one only, might it not so happen that this wicked priest might administer the true baptism without intention to an infant, who, when grown to a man, might be made bishop over a great city, and live many years in that charge, so that he hath ordained a great part of the priests; it must be said, that he, being not baptized, is not ordained, nor they ordained, who are promoted by him. So that by this means there would be in this great city, neither the sacrament of the eucharist, nor of confession, which cannot be without the true sacrament of holy orders, nor that, without a true bishop, nor a bishop duly ordained, without baptism. Behold here, how by the wickedness of a minister we find in one sole act a million of nullities of sacraments; and who would say, that in so great a number of nullities, God supplies all by his Almightiness, and that by extraordinary remedies he provides for things of constant and daily use? We should much rather be persuaded that God hath already by his providence provided, that such like accidents cannot happen. And yet, said the bishop, God hath provided against all inconveniences, having ordained that that should be a true sacrament, which is administered with the ceremonies ordained by him, though it may happen that the minister may have another intention. He added, moreover, that this was not repugnant to the common doctrine of divines, nor to the determination of the Council of Florence, which imports, that

the intention of the minister is required to the sacrament ; because that is to be understood not of the internal intention, but of that which manifests itself in the outward work, though inwardly he might have a contrary intention. And that thus all those inconveniences are avoided, which would otherwise be innumerable. He alleged many other reasons for proof of his saying, and last of all produced an example recorded by Sozomenus, in his Ecclesiastical History ; that on a day the children of Alexandria being met together near the sea for to play, began to imitate the actions wont to be done in the church, and having made Athanasius bishop of their play, he baptized some of the said children who had never been baptized ; which coming to the ear of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, of famous memory, he was troubled at it, and having called the children, he asked what their mock-bishop had done and said to them ; and having found by their answer, that the whole form and ceremony of the Church had been observed ; wherefore by the counsel and advice of other priests he approved and ratified that baptism ; whereupon bishop Catharin said, that this approbation could not be maintained, if such an intention were required to the sacrament, as others say there is ; but very well in the manner that he had declared."

These are the great inconveniences wherewith the common notion which bore sway amongst the followers of the decision of Pope Eugenius IV. is entangled. Well ! what resolution did the Council take hereupon ?

"This doctrine, saith Father Paul, was not at all relished by the other divines, notwithstanding that they were confounded and put to a nonplus by the reasons he had alleged, which they could not solve ; but notwithstanding, persisted in their opinion, that the true intention of the minister is necessary, either actual, virtual, or potential ; and that if he have a contrary inward intention, the sacrament is not valid, notwithstanding all exterior demonstration." And accordingly they thundered out their anathema in the terms before set down.

I am not ignorant what the said Father Paul observes in the same place ; that after this absolute decision of the Council, that the intention of the minister is necessary ; the foresaid prelate continued firm in his opinion, and that a year after this definition of the Council, he wrote a small treatise on this subject, in which he asserts, that the Council of Trent had been of his opinion, and that the definition by them made, was

to be understood in his sense. But here we must remark two things, 1. That the Council expressly condemns his sense in session 14. cap. 6. where it is said, "that if a priest doth not design truly to absolve, the penitent is not truly absolved." If the matter till then passed for doubtful, or favourable to Catharin, at least after that decree, which respects one of those inconveniences which Catharin had so much insisted on, it can no longer be supposed uncertain or disputable. The first decree of the Council was published in the year 1547, March 3, and the second appeared 1551, the 11th of October. I know well, that this last doctrine has no anathema annexed to it, as all those have that are accounted infallible decrees of the Council. But the question in this case being concerning the meaning or intention of the Council, we must either suppose that the Fathers might mistake in explaining their own meaning, or else we must own that Ambrosius Catharin imposed on the Council, in maintaining that their anathema contained nothing contrary to his explication: and the Council in taking no notice of Catharin's book, did only make use of the same profound conduct, we observe in its definition about the manner of the real presence in the eucharist; for the Council's design being to preserve an union amongst their divines, suffered quietly each party to take their decrees in their own sense, though indeed there could be no more than one sense of the Council: thus seeing that there were then in the Church of Rome, besides Catharin, several learned men, as Cardinal Lugo witnesseth, *de Sacrament.* disp. 7. §. 2. who did not own the necessity of any inward intention, they thought fit to take no notice of the treatise of Ambrosius Catharin; not to say, that possibly the Council accounted it a feat worthy of their policy, to delude the Protestants by this seeming toleration of their opinion.

However it be, we find, in the second place, after this definition, a perfect uniformity in this matter; for they take no notice of some divines, who undertook to defend Catharin against the general current, their divines rejecting and refusing the opinion of Catharin, as an erroneous doctrine, contrary to the definition of the Council. This we see in Bellarmine, Vasquez, Suarez, Cardinal Lugo, and all the rest. And we are to observe, that if there be any dispute amongst the Roman divines about the necessity of intention; some of them supposing an actual intention of doing what the Church doth to be necessary; others thinking an habitual intention to be

sufficient ; and others again a virtual intention, yet they all agree about the necessity of intention in order to the validity of the sacrament. 1. They agree that an actual intention is sufficient. 2. That an habitual intention, that is, a foregoing intention, which has never been revoked, sufficeth. 3. They agree also, that a virtual intention, that is, the application of actions expressed in celebrating of the sacrament is sufficient, supposing that the imagination works and directs, having received from the will the necessary impressions to produce those corporal actions that are necessary for the celebration of the sacraments ; this is very exactly explained by Cardinal de Lugo, *de Sacrament.* disp. 8. sess. 5., though he owns, that there be certain actions in the sacrament, wherein this virtual intention is not necessary, of which he gives some very pleasant examples.

The Council of Trent, having followed the general terms of the school in this matter, without explaining themselves too precisely, for fear of displeasing any of their communion ; it is somewhat difficult to know what they meant by those words, to have at least the intention of doing what the Church doth : for if these terms do not simply signify to do an outward action, as the same is practised in the Church, what else would they express thereby ? Some pretend, with Richard de Media Villa and Vasquez, that the minister must will the end or effect of the sacrament, *viz.* the sanctification which the sacrament produces ; others believe that these words do not import any such meaning, but only an intention of doing those external actions, with regard to their being religious ceremonies ; and others again, as Cardinal de Lugo, refute both these notions, and pretend it is sufficient, that the minister have an intention to act and speak in the name of Jesus Christ. But if you ask them whether it be necessary, that this will of his be explicit, they answer, that an implicit will doth suffice ; and that accordingly, when a man hath only the intention of doing what a curate of his communion doth in administering the sacrament, the sacrament is valid as to the intention of him that administers it. Thus Vasquez declares himself, disp. 138. n. 51. and is therein followed by Cardinal de Lugo.

I should never have done, should I go about to set down particularly the ridiculousness which each of these divines finds in the opinions of those that differ from them in this matter. It shall suffice us to take notice, that after many contests arising from the obscurity affected by the Council of Trent,

and imitated by the authors of the Romish Catechism, who religiously retained those unintelligible expressions, they all equally agree in this, that in a minister of the sacraments, there is required, besides an intention of doing the external actions, which Jesus Christ hath prescribed, another action either actual or supposed, of the will, by which the minister acts as a minister of Jesus Christ, without which, according to their doctrine, the sacrament cannot be true. The reason which they commonly allege to confirm this opinion of theirs, sufficiently evidences that this is their doctrine. Thus they philosophize; they hold that an action cannot be human, that is, moral, except it be done with some intention, and suppose either actually or virtually an act of the will; whence they conclude, that the intention in general is absolutely necessary in the minister of the sacrament, who must do a human action. In the second place they suppose, that the action of the minister of the sacraments must be an action done in the name of Jesus Christ, and, as they hold, it would not have that character, if the minister should be wanting as to this inward intention to act as a minister of Jesus Christ. This is that which Cardinal de Lugo alleges as a proof *a priori*, because a minister acts in the sacraments as a minister of Jesus Christ.

We look upon these speculations of the Romish school, not only as mere chimeras, but also as real mistakes, because thereby they make the effect and validity of the sacraments to depend upon an uncertain and unknown act of the ministers, on which we do not find that God hath made it at all to depend, and whereon it is ridiculous to suppose, that the Divine wisdom should have made it dependent. We believe that the sacraments of the New Testament are ceremonies of the Christian religion, of the same nature as were the sacraments of the circumcision and the paschal lamb, which were the sacraments of the old covenant. Now as the actions which God therein prescribed, did not, as to their validity, depend on the ministers of the Old Testament, no more do we believe that the ceremonies which Jesus Christ hath prescribed under the New, derive their validity from the intention of him that administers them. We acknowledge that the ministers are obliged, by the nature of their ministry, to celebrate them with the respect, decency, and order, which is due to religious ceremonies; and we believe that they sin grievously, if they be wanting therein. If they should at any time administer the sacraments with

comical postures, or without the reverence that is required in sacred actions, we should accuse them of profanation. But yet if they follow exactly the intention of our Saviour in celebrating them, then we believe, though they might be hypocrites or atheists in their hearts, the sacrament, for the dispensing of which they are appointed, doth not therefore lose its validity. Our foundation herein is firm and unmoveable, because they are only the ministers, and not the masters or authors of the sacraments; their ministry only consists in doing the actions Jesus Christ hath prescribed, and to explain them by pronouncing the words of the sacrament, and what the end and use of these ceremonies of our religion is, according to the intention of our Saviour Jesus Christ, expressed in words which they pronounce in his name, and as being his ministers. Now we know, that whatsoever the intention of the minister of a prince may be, with reference to a criminal, to whom he delivers pardon in the name of his prince, it can have no influence on the validity of the said act of grace of the prince his master, because the validity of the pardon wholly depends on the will and intention of the prince, and not at all on the intention of the minister, who being only a moral instrument, cannot influence an act, which the prince has not made dependent of his will.

In effect, it is hard to conceive a more false and ridiculous opinion than is that of the Church of Rome on this point: 1. It supposeth that the defect of intention, which is a sin of the minister, is the cause of an eternal loss to him that is ignorant of it, and who does not in the least partake of that sin, which is manifestly contrary, not only to the law of nature, but also to the disposal of divine justice, which will not permit the penalty of sin to reach any but the author, or those that are abettors by consenting to it. 2. It overthrows the notion of the ministry, in making the sacrament to depend on the power of the minister, without whose intention it cannot have its validity. The ministry differs in this from the authority of Jesus Christ; that Jesus Christ hath instituted the sacraments to be celebrated in his Church, and to signify the graces we receive by partaking of them: the sacraments therefore consist of these two parts; the one is the doing the actions prescribed; the other is to express the sense of those actions; both which are performed by the ministers, to whom Jesus Christ hath committed the dispensation of the sacraments: now if the validity of the sacrament depends on any other thing,

viz., the intention of the minister, it will follow, that the minister, besides his dispensation, is master of the sacrament; forasmuch as the sacrament cannot be valid without him; that is, it cannot be a sacrament. It is a very strange conceit, that Jesus Christ should have ordained a minister, who by his ordination can wholly overthrow the design, and make void the institution of our Saviour. For the thing is not impossible, and it may naturally be supposed; yea, it might so happen, that all priests, if it were only to shew their liberty, might resolve to have no intention; and if so, what would become of the sacraments which our Lord hath instituted?

3. This doctrine of the necessity of intention, doth overturn and manifestly destroy the nature of those sacred signs; which being so by the institution of our Saviour, they do not derive their virtue from the authority or the action of the minister: on the contrary it is certain, that the action of the minister derives all its authority from the institution. We call the sacraments, in conformity to the ancients, "a visible word:" now forasmuch as the words have their signification independently of him that makes use of them, and in virtue of a use formerly established, it is apparent that we cannot make the validity of the sacraments depend on the intention of the minister, without thereby destroying the nature of them.

4. It manifestly opposeth the common sense and judgment of all Christians. When we have seen an infant baptized, and with the ordinary ceremonies received in the Church, all that have been present, say, and suppose they have all the reason in the world so to do, that a child hath been baptized. The Church of Rome itself, doth it not go on this ground, establishing her jurisdiction over persons on this account,* and thinks herself to have right to punish the party as an apostate, in case he leaves the Roman religion for to embrace Mahometanism, or to list himself among Protestants? Now can a stranger piece of folly be conceived than this proposition, *viz.* such an one has been baptized in the presence of such witnesses, in case it be true, that besides the ceremony administered, the intention of the minister be required to make it a true and valid baptism? Or can any proceeding be more unjust than that of the Inquisition, in condemning such a person and burning him for an apostate!

Let us also consider that chaos of doubts and uncertainties,

* Greg. de Valent. T. 4. disp. 4. q. 4. p. 2.

into which the necessity of the minister's intention doth necessarily cast all Christians, without leaving any imaginable means to be freed therefrom. It is a sure maxim, delivered by the Holy Spirit himself, that none knows the heart of man, but the heart of man, and the Deity, who takes to himself this title, "the Searcher of the heart :" how then is it possible for me ever to be assured that I have been baptized, that I have been confirmed, that I have had absolution of my sins, that I have partaken of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, that I have really received any orders, that I have the power of baptizing, of consecrating, of absolving, of ordaining ministers, that I am lawfully married, that I have received extreme unction ; if I must believe that none of these actions can be truly done without the intention of the minister of the sacraments, which is absolutely unknown to me, and of which I have no way to assure myself ? The Papists ordinarily object to some Protestants, for an absurdity, from which they cannot free themselves, the idea of the Church upon the hypothesis of election : their ground is this, that it is the greatest absurdity imaginable, to make the Church, which is a visible body, to depend on a decree of eternal election ; which is a will hid in God, and is not revealed : but in truth we may upbraid to them with much more justice, their notion of the necessity of intention ; by which means all the great concerns of their Church are left so uncertain and fantastic, that nothing can be imagined more vain, or that smells more rank of delusion. For upon this supposal, we have no assurance of any object of our religion, all depending on this secret intention, which is altogether uncertain. A man cannot be a priest, if he have not been baptized ; he cannot be a bishop, if before he have not been a priest ; he cannot be a pope, if he have not been a bishop or priest ; he cannot be the subject of infallibility ; he cannot decide any thing sovereignly and without appeal, if he be not a Christian and a priest before. This necessity of intention works as many miracles of uncertainty, to the subversion of the certainty of religion, as transubstantiation doth to the destruction of sense, reason, and faith. I will not make the displeasing parallel here, it is sufficient to point out the thing to the judicious reader, who may make his reflections thereupon.

Moreover, it is on this intention of the priest, that that miracle depends, or rather, that crowd of miracles, which are wrought in transubstantiation ; and how can we lawfully dis-

pense ourselves from making one reflection thereupon of another nature ! It is certain, that never was there any idolatry more inexcusable than that of the Church of Rome, in case there be no transubstantiation ; the Jesuit Costerus* agrees to this. Now what certainty have they of the Church of Rome for their adoring the sacrament, if we suppose that without the intention of the priest (which is always uncertain to the worshippers) there can be no transubstantiation ; so that they can have no other ground to adore the eucharist, but the persuasion they have, that the priest has had the intention of consecrating. But I inquire further, what ground have they for this persuasion ? Is it founded on the evidence of the thing that strikes their sense ? None will be so foolish to say so. Is it founded on the testimony of reason ? No, for reason cannot discover the least ground of certainty therein. Is it then founded on the evidence of faith, that is to say, on some revelation ? Neither do I believe that this can be rationally maintained by any one ; if it were so, all the communicants would be obliged either to prove the truth of the revelation made to them, or else to pass for fools and enthusiasts. And forasmuch as this perplexing difficulty is obvious to the eyes of all the world, the divines of the Roman communion could do no less than take notice of it ; they do own, that a priest who hath no intention to consecrate, would make the people commit idolatry, in making them to worship mere bread instead of the precious body of Jesus Christ, which are the very words of Benedict, in his *Summ. lib. 4. c. 1.* But what answer doth he return to this terrible inconvenience ? True it is, saith he, that a man in this case would be excused before God from sin, as being under invincible ignorance. Besides, saith he, it would only be material idolatry in the people, who worship the host in the faith of the Church, as being obliged to worship what the priest shews them, without any condition or hesitation whatsoever. To confirm this excellent resolution of that difficulty, he cites the authority of Vignier *de Euch. cap. 16.*

I know well, that the Church of Rome pretends, that in this case there is a moral certainty, which is sufficient to appease the conscience of Christians ; which they endeavour to make out thus : 1. Because it is the most easy thing in the world to have this intention. 2. Because those who have been baptized in their infancy, are bound in this matter to believe their

* Enchirid. c. 8.

parents, who have presented them to be baptized. But all this is mere vanity, and I cannot imagine how men of good sense, can call that a moral certainty, which is founded on such vain conjectures, and so subject to error. For is it any argument, that because to have an intention is the easiest thing in the world, therefore no priest can be wanting in the same? When they themselves furnish us with divers examples of sacrilegious priests and concealed Jews, who have owned at their death, that, during the whole course of their lives, they never had the intention which the Church of Rome prescribes.

What advantage also can they draw from our owning, that the certainty which a man hath of his having been baptized, is sufficiently evidenced by the testimony of his parents, to prove that a man hath been baptized, whilst they hold, that besides the external ceremony, and the words of baptism, of which the parents can give an assured testimony, there is also required a secret intention of the priest, of which all the men of the world, had they been present, could not give us the least assurance? The testimony of our parents does indeed produce a moral certainty that we have been baptized: but the persuasion of the Roman Church has nothing like it, and therefore it cannot pass for a moral certitude with them, but for a ridiculous credulity without ground or foundation; which credulity, notwithstanding, is the ground and basis of the most important act of religion, and without which, there is nothing but an empty imitation of whatsoever at this day passeth for the religion of Jesus Christ.

Whatsoever judgment a wise reader may make of this Romish doctrine, yet their doctors are not wanting to maintain it, and to propound it as a truth clearly confirmed by holy Scripture. Cardinal de Lugo, who is one of the last that hath writ of this matter, calls this doctrine a catholic truth, because it appears, that Jesus Christ hath so instituted the sacraments, that he would have them to depend on the intention of the ministers. This he proves concerning the sacrament of penance, with these words: "Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittentur eis," John xx; and concerning extreme unction, "Let him send for the elders of the Church, to pray over him," James v; concerning the communion, from those words, "Do this in my remembrance;" he proves the same with respect to holy orders, from these words of the *Pontifical. Rom.* "Accipe potestatem," &c. As for marriage, he owns that it cannot be consummated without the intention of the parties contracted,

because an inward simulation is sufficient to spoil the contract. And forasmuch as there must be a conformity between the sacraments, he concludes from these examples, that we must suppose the same necessity of intention with respect to baptism and confirmation, and the rather, because the Apostle St. Paul seems to suppose it, when he saith, 1 Cor. iv. 1, " Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." Now a steward, saith he, must have an intention to act conformably to his master's orders, or else he is not looked upon as a steward. He proceeds afterwards to shew, that the point hath been defined by the authority of Councils, as that of Florence, and that of Trent. To which he joins some reasons, which we have already taken into consideration. Thus you have had a view of the proof of this doctrine, the consequences whereof make a heart that hath the least sense of Christianity, to tremble.

My design is not to examine one by one, all the supposals the Cardinal makes to establish the truth of this doctrine. 1. It is false, that those words of St. John xx. do refer to the sacrament of penance properly so called, but rather regard the whole ministry, or dispensation of the Gospel ; and St. Cyprian hath applied them to baptism ; this is so evident, that we may invincibly refute the supposition of the Cardinal, who holds, that the priesthood is conferred by those words of our Saviour ; and indeed, a priest that is newly ordained doth say mass, and consecrate with the bishop, before that the bishop hath spoken to him those words, which are not uttered till immediately after the post-communion. 2. It is false, that in the 5th of St. James, ver. 14, there is any mention made of extreme unction, and some famous divines of the Roman communion are of the same opinion. 3. It is false, that those words, " Accipe potestatem," taken out of the *Pontifical. Rom.* are a solid proof ; because the use thereof is altogether new in the form, wherein it is conceived at present. The learned Hugo Menard honestly acknowledges it in his Notes on the Book of the Sacraments of Gregory I. And Father Morin, who hath published many extracts of ancient Pontificals, hath not found any of them of above 500 years standing, that hath this form of words ; and which besides is altogether unknown to all other Christian Churches of the East and South. 4. It is false, or at least uncertain, that the intention of those that are contracted in marriage, is necessary to the sacrament of marriage, if it be true that the parties contracted, are not the minister of

the sacrament, but the priest that blesseth the marriage, as divers divines of the Roman communion do hold, before M. de Marea, archbishop of Paris, who hath alleged them, as may be seen in his posthumous works. 5. It is likewise ridiculous to conclude, that because the intention of the priest is necessary to the validity of the eucharist, that it must be also necessary in baptism, when the Scripture affords us nothing to allege in proof thereof, especially when we find so much difference between the eucharist and baptism, with respect to their necessity. The silence of the Scripture in this point, ought naturally to incline us to think, that considering the absolute necessity of that sacrament, according to the opinion of the Church of Rome, Jesus Christ would not have thought fit to make it depend, like the other sacraments, upon the minister's intention, especially when it is possible that such a minister may be a Jew or a heathen.

But without entering on this examen, which is not altogether necessary, I shall confine myself to these three considerations, which are sufficient to expose the vanity of those who allege the example of the institution of the eucharist, which they pretend our Saviour hath made to depend on the intention of the minister of that sacrament.

I say in the first place, that these words, "This do in remembrance of me," were never taken, nor can they be taken in the sense which Cardinal Lugo hath put upon them; they signifying only, according to our intent, thus much: whereas heretofore ye brake bread in memory of your deliverance from Egypt, for which reason that bread was called the bread of misery; break it now in memory of my passion. This is that which is owned by the Jews, as we may see in the writings of a Spanish monk,* who wrote before the Reformation. But where do we find the least word here concerning the secret intention of the minister, without which the celebration of that sacrament is invalid? In truth, it is an admirable thing what great service these words do to those of the Roman communion: when we ask them who hath given them the power to change the nature of the bread into the body of Jesus Christ, they allege those words, as if they were peremptory and decisive in the case, "This do in remembrance of me." He changed, say they, the bread into his body, consequently he gave to priests the same power by those words. When we demand

* Fortalit. Fid.

of them a proof to make out that Jesus Christ is sacrificed in the eucharist, they still allege, “This do in remembrance of me ;” and they prove it thus ; because *to do*, signifies *to sacrifice*, and that Virgil useth it in that sense. Again, if the point to be proved be, that there is neither transubstantiation nor sacrifice in the eucharist, if the priest hath no intention to consecrate and to sacrifice, they set before us the same proof as clear and convincing. But in case it be so clear a proof, how comes it to pass, that for twelve centuries none of the interpreters of holy Scripture have made use of it ? How is it that the ancient Fathers never drew this conclusion from those words ? It would be very well if the gentlemen of the Church of Rome, in their disputes with us, would not quote any place of Scripture, without making it appear that the ancient Christians from the Apostles’ time till now, have always taken them in the same sense wherein they quote them to us. The Council of Trent* hath obliged all their divines to do so, in the rules they have given for the explication of holy Scripture ; but we see they take no great care to follow this maxim in their controversial treatises

The second consideration we are to make on these words, is, that if they prove that the minister’s intention is absolutely necessary to make the sacrament valid, it will follow by the same supposition, that the secret intention of the people that are present, must concur with that of the minister, without which the sacrament cannot have its validity. For we must either say, that it was the will of Christ that the people should do what he had ordained, *viz.* to eat the consecrated bread in remembrance of him, or that it was not his will ; by what other words hath our Saviour established the necessity of the people’s partaking of the eucharist, besides these, “This do in remembrance of me ?” If therefore they suppose a necessity of the priest’s intention in order to the validity of the sacrament, how can we suppose but that the intention of the people who partake thereof, must also be necessary ? It is comprised in the same discourse ; it is expressed in the same words ; and in the mean time we must say, according to the sentiment of the Church of Rome, that the same words have two senses, one with respect to the priests, and the other with respect to laymen ; that the same proposition is false when addressed to laymen, and true when spoken to priests, notwithstanding that

* Sess. 4. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 747. Lut. Par. 1672.]

Jesus Christ spake them equally to both, without hinting any such distinction.

I say, in the third place, to speak more seriously, that the meaning of our blessed Saviour is very clear in this matter; he ordains, that a ceremony which was practised among the Jews, but with another regard, should for time to come serve for another use, much in like manner as he established the ceremony of baptism, which was practised among the Jews, as the ceremony of entering into their Church. The Jews troubled not themselves about the secret intention of him that baptized; nor whether the father of the family, who brake the bread on Easter-eve, were a close Epicurean. Jesus Christ expresses his institution as a lawgiver; and upon a like matter he sets down the end of it, *viz.* the remembrance of his death, as that which was the ransom of mankind, which obliges the minister of the sacrament, and all that partake thereof, to celebrate the memory of so great a mystery with all the devotion they can. St. Paul declares on this account, that he who eats the bread of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of his body; but he speaks neither more nor less of the secret intention of the minister, without which, they say, this sacrament can be of no validity. Indeed, it is a very strange thing to see that the Apostle St. Paul, who was so careful in giving instructions to ministers, to represent to them the concern of their ministry, did never give them any lesson concerning the necessity of having this intention required in the sacraments; especially if we consider, that without the said intention, the people committed to their care are in such visible danger of falling without remedy into everlasting damnation.

But some may say, that the Cardinal de Lugo proves, that the Apostle St. Paul declares, that the validity of the sacraments doth depend on the intention of the minister, when he saith, 1 Cor. iv. 1, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." I see he doth; but withal, I take notice that the Cardinals are no more successful in alleging Scripture for to maintain their opinions, than the meanest of the laies of the Roman communion; and if the abuse which laymen make of the Scriptures, has been the occasion of depriving them of their liberty of reading them, we shall find this Cardinal deserves the same prohibition. St. Paul, in the place quoted by the Cardinal, speaks only of the word of the Gospel: and the mysteries of God spoken of there, signify nothing else but the mysteries

which God has revealed ; and if we read the text with attention, we cannot doubt thereof; and in the mean time the Cardinal makes use of this passage, to prove that the sacraments are invalid without the minister's intention. But suppose the Apostle did speak in this place concerning the sacraments, are not ministers stewards of the word, as well as of the sacraments ? And yet was ever any man so foolish, to imagine that a minister who preacheth the word, and in the mean time is a secret atheist, can annul the virtue of the Gospel, by refusing to preach the same with the intention required to make it efficacious ? Is it not always the word of life, though it should proceed from the mouth of the devil ? Is it not always the power of God for the salvation of those that believe, though preached by Pope Leo X. who looked upon the Gospel as a fabulous story ?

And as for the Councils alleged by the Romanists to authorize the belief of this article ; I grant, that if they were Councils of the second or third century, we should have reason to be astonished that so strange an imagination had been started so soon ; or at least it would be natural to judge, that it had its rise from the conceits of those fantastic authors, who at that time greatly pestered the doctrine of the Gospel, and by the ecclesiastical writers are put down in the catalogue of heretics. But by good luck, the ancientest Council they allege for this opinion is that of Constance, assembled in 1414. A Council famous for taking away the holy cup, by an attempt contrary to the authority of Jesus Christ, and to the practice of the Apostles and primitive Church ; a Council to which some of the Roman communion give the title of *Conciliabulum*. Pope Eugenius defined what pleased him at Florence in 1431, after that the Greeks were departed ; and the Armenians standing in need to be instructed about the necessity of the minister's intention, doth make it evident, that they were not acquainted with this Romish doctrine, notwithstanding that, many years before, the Pope's missionaries had instructed them about that question, as may be seen in the book of Armachanus against the Armenians. As for the Council of Trent, we know that the main design of it was, without publishing the matter, to confirm the decisions of Pope Leo X. in his bull against Luther ; which is plainly owned by Cardinal Pallavicino, as to this point of intention. Besides, this Council had not the least liberty allowed it, but absolutely attended on the good pleasure of the Pope : which

made the French ambassador say, that the Holy Spirit was conveyed to the said Council from Rome, in the Pope's messenger's cloak-bag. And this is all the antiquity and authority they have to support their doctrine of the necessity of intention. Lastly, we are so far from finding anything in antiquity to persuade us, that ever the Christian Church received this doctrine by tradition from the Apostles; that on the contrary we find there sufficient matter to convince us, that if any one should have broached any such doctrine, it would have been looked upon as most strange and monstrous. This is that which now I intend to make out, that no pretext may be left to support so pernicious an error.

1. I take notice, that for the space of twelve centuries, we find nothing in ancient writings importing, that the Church did believe that the intention of the minister of the sacraments was necessary in the manner, as the Church of Rome now conceives it, for their validity. If this maxim, that it is necessary at least that the minister have intention to do what the Church doth, be to be found any where in their writings, the Romish writers of controversy would do well to shew it us; for hitherto they have not produced any thing that hath the least appearance of a proof to confirm their opinion. It may be some will imagine, that the Fathers had no occasion to write about this matter: but I have three things to offer in reference to this objection. 1. That they have very largely treated concerning the sacraments, and against divers heresies; we have several treatises of theirs concerning baptism and the eucharist, particularly of Justin Martyr, of Tertullian, of St. Basil, of St. Gregory Nyssen, of St. Austin, of St. Chrysostom, of Isidore of Seville, as also of authors of the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh age; but in all these treatises we do not so much as find one word concerning the intention of the minister, or its necessity for the validity of the sacrament. Is not the negligence of so many authors matter of astonishment, who have writ in so many ages in such different places, and yet that none of them should make the least mention of a thing which the divines of the Romish Church set down with so much care, and about which they take so much pains to agree amongst themselves? 2. I say, the Fathers had as much occasion to treat of this question, and to decide it, as they of Rome can have at this time, and yet we do not find them taking any of those courses, whereto they of the Church of Rome have been engaged by this belief: I will instance in two

notable and ordinary cases, concerning which the Fathers ought to have explained themselves. 1. A priest on Easter-day, intending to give the eucharist to the people, had before him eleven hosts, though he does not know of any more than ten : the divines and canonists of Rome demand on this occasion, whether all the eleven be consecrated, or only ten, or whether any of them be. Calderin, in *C. Si Sacerdos extra, de Offic. Ordinar.* maintains, that if he had intention to consecrate them all, they are all consecrated, though there might be a mistake in his counting of them, but withal maintains, that if his intention were only to consecrate ten, and no more, the consecration is null and void, forasmuch as it does not appear which of the eleven he had intention to consecrate ; which is also the opinion of Panormitanus on the same chapter. We must not pass by the excellent reasonings which Chappuis sets down concerning this matter, in *Summul. Raymundi Tr. 3. p. 163.* Behold here another case common enough : a priest having several hosts to consecrate, when he comes to the act of consecration, takes notice only of that which is in his hands, and accordingly utters the sacramental words over that only. What shall we say in this case ? Are all the rest consecrated, or no ? Some divines have maintained that they are not ; " But we say," saith the knowing Chappuis, in his Glosses upon the Summ. of Raymund, " that they are all consecrated, because a virtual intention is sufficient, and he had that virtual intention, when he took the hosts in order to consecrate them all." Now these being cases frequent enough, the ancients had as much occasion to declare themselves as precisely upon this point, as Scotus ever had ; to resolve the difficulty of these cases, they were obliged to determine the necessity of intention, and to explain the character and nature of it ; we must therefore conclude, that the Fathers were all ignorants and blockheads in comparison of the Romish divines and canonists, in leaving the decision of such questions to them, which were as frequent in their times, as they could be since the thirteenth century.

I say, thirdly, That they have not only by their silence declared, that they knew nothing of any such doctrine, but have also formally opposed the same in their disputes. To this purpose I shall allege two singular proofs ; the first is taken from the course Tertullian takes to expose and ridicule the apotheoses in use amongst the Romans : " *Apud vos,*" saith he, " *de humano arbitratu Divinitas pensitatur, nisi*

homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, homo jam Deo propitius esse debebit." He expresses himself to the same purpose, Lib. 1, *ad Nationes*, p. 55, " Utique," saith he, "*impiissimum, imo contumeliosissimum admissum est in arbitrio et libidine sententiae humanae, locare honorem divinitatis, ut Deus non sit, nisi cui permiserit senatus.*" I grant that these expressions do directly respect the Roman apotheoses, which he would never have blamed in such brisk expressions, had he known that the Pope had received from Christ the power of canonizing saints. But we must also acknowledge, that these expressions make it evident, that he knew nothing of the necessity of intention to make the eucharist a true sacrament; for he might easily perceive that these expressions might be returned upon himself by the heathens, who might have reproached him, that by the doctrine of intention, he had power to make his God, or not make him, to make the eucharist to be adored, or to leave the bread in the common condition, which excludes all adoration. The rest of the Fathers proceed on the same ground as Tertullian, and have, during the three first ages of the Church, made use of the same reflections. The second proof is taken from the opinion held by most of the Fathers, concerning the nullity of baptism conferred by heretics. In effect, if it be true, that the intention of the minister be required for the validity of the sacrament, and that it is *that* doth make the sacrament valid, by whomsoever it may be administered; then Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, the Council of Africa held under Agrippinus, the Council of St. Cyprian, Firmilianus Cæsariensis, were mistaken in rejecting the baptism conferred by heretics as null and void: it cannot be denied, but that the heretics did confer baptism with intention to do what Christ commands, and what the Church doth, and yet we see here one half of the world rejecting their baptism as invalid, and the other half maintaining, as an Apostolical tradition, that baptism conferred, by whomsoever he be, is valid, supposing that he had the intention of doing what the Church doth. In the mean time neither of both parties do remember a common maxim, which ought to be at the front of their rituals, as well as it is in the front of the Roman ritual. From whence proceeds this behaviour of the ancients? Did they look upon the intention of heretics to be insufficient? Not at all: but they judged thus, because these heretics did corrupt the faith, and the form of baptism could not pass with them for the Church of God,

within which alone they believed the sacraments could be administered.

I add, fourthly, That when the first Council of Arles, assembled Anno 314, and the Council of Nice, made distinction of the heretics, they considered nothing but the perfection of that ceremony according to the institution of our Saviour, determining, that the baptism conferred by the Arians was valid, forasmuch as they did not corrupt or alter any thing in the form prescribed by our Saviour, as may be seen in the Decret. of Gratian, *Cap. de Arianis*. Indeed we can very distinctly prove, that after that the Fathers had submitted to the authority of Arles and Nice, they express themselves in such a manner as makes it evident, that they knew nothing of this necessity of intention of the minister. 1. They declare very distinctly, that they attribute nothing to the minister but the outward act of plunging in the water, and pronouncing the sacramental words, excluding this strange imagination as far as possibly they could, before ever it had entered the thought of any divine. St. Cyril of Jerusalem expressly declares in his first Catechism to the Illuminated, that regeneration is an effect of the faith of him that is baptized, because the Spirit bloweth where it listeth, which would be very ridiculous, if regeneration did depend on the intention of the priest : yea, he seems to furnish us with an argument to refute the notion of Cardinal de Lugo, who argues, because in baptism men list themselves soldiers under Jesus Christ, that the priest's intention must needs intervene : for this Father maintains on the contrary, that it is Jesus Christ himself that in baptism chooseth souls ; whence he takes occasion to exhort the new baptized carefully to avoid hypocrisy, and declares, that as Jesus Christ doth not give holy things to dogs, so also he impresseth the seal of his grace on those in whom he finds good resolution for godliness.

Optatus Milevitanus, proving that baptism conferred by heretics and schismatics is valid, makes use of these words, after he hath set down the graces conferred in baptism ; “ *Unicuique non ejusdem rei operarius*,” so he calls the minister of baptism, “ *sed credenti fides et Trinitas præstat*.” And a little after he adds, “ *Docuimus cœleste munus unicuique credenti a Trinitate conferri, non ab homine*.” Now what can be more improper than these expressions, if God hath made his grace to depend on the intention of the minister, by confining the validity of the sacrament to his intention ! St.

Chrysostom, Homil. 2. in 2. *ad Timoth.* terms the minister the angel of God, because he pronounces the words of God, who hath ordained him ; and in the sequel answers an objection, how we may be assured, that the minister hath been ordained by God : upon which he saith, “ If thou hast not this belief, thy hope is made void ; for if God works nothing by him, thou art not baptized, nor partakest of the mysteries, nor of the blessing, and so art no Christian. What then, shall we say, that all that are ordained, even the unworthy themselves, are ordained by God ? God doth not ordain them all,” answers he, “ yet he works by them all, notwithstanding they be unworthy of it, that the people may be saved ; for if God spake by the she-ass, and by Balaam, who was a wicked man, for his people’s sake, how much more by a priest ? For what is it that God does not ? Or, who is it that he doth not work upon ? If he wrought by Judas, shall he not much rather work by the priests ? ” And adds afterwards, “ *Sacerdotis est tantum aperire os, totum vero operatur Deus,* ” &c. and continues the same strain throughout that Homily. He follows the same notion in his 85th Homily upon John ; “ Whatsoever,” saith he, “ the priest hath received, is the alone gift of God ; and how far soever human philosophy may reach, it is still much beneath this grace.” And then adds, “ I do not only assert that the priests, but that an angel of God can do nothing in things that are given by God ; it is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit that order all things, for the priest he only lends his tongue and hand.” This is that which St. Chrysostom plainly declares ; so far was he from owning, that the priest’s intention was necessary to the validity of the sacrament. He repeats the same doctrine in his eighth Homily on the first Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 80, where he maintains, that the wickedness of the priest cannot prejudice the party baptized, or communicant ; which according to the sentiment of the Church of Rome, is the greatest falsity imaginable, who believe that a priest can deprive an infant of baptism, and make his communicants to commit idolatry, by his not having an intention to consecrate. St. Jerome evidently shews, that the ministers have no other share in the administration of the sacraments, than what concerns the outward form of them, declaring that they do profane these mysteries when they dare to consecrate, leading in the mean time a wicked life ; *Comment. in Sophon.* St. Austin is express on this subject, lib. 7, cont. Donat. c. 53, “ I should not at all

doubt," saith he, "their being baptized, who have received that sacrament without dissimulation, and with some degree of faith, in whatsoever place, or by whomsoever it may have been administered in the words of the Gospel." From whence it appears, that if he thinks any intention necessary, it is that of the party baptized, and not of the minister. And accordingly Vasquez, *Distinct.* 138, n. 48, finds this passage so opposite to his opinion, that not knowing how to disentangle himself from it, he owns, that St. Augustine was not yet acquainted with this truth of the necessity of the minister's intention, the Councils having not as yet defined it. Cardinal de Lugo grants, that "St. Augustine doubted of several matters, which with them are put out of doubt by the definition of their Councils; and that this Father hath done here what is so common with the Fathers, who in their zeal against heresy, do oft oppose truth. In his eagerness to prove the baptism conferred by the Donatists to be valid, he doubts," saith he, "whether the baptism that is conferred in play and sport-wise be so." Behold here a great crime of St. Austin's, by which scantling we may judge of the Cardinal's solution of this objection. We may also gather the same truth from the notion St. Austin gives us of baptism in his eightieth homily on St. John, where he discourses thus upon these words; "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Why doth he not say, ye are clean through the baptism wherewith ye have been washed? But because the word washeth by the water: take away the word, and what is the water, but water? But when the word is joined with the element, then it becomes a sacrament, which is, as it were, a visible word. Whence has the water this great virtue, that in touching the body, it washes the heart, if not from the word? Not because it is pronounced, but because it is believed." These words of his shew plainly, that he looks upon the minister, as having no other duty incumbent upon him, but to pronounce the words expressing the nature of the sacrament, and attributes all their efficacy to the faith of those who receive the sacraments, without any intervening intention of the minister, without which neither the words of the minister, nor the faith of him that is baptized, are of any effect.

We find a decision of Pope Anastasius in the canon law, where he explains the sentiments of the Church of Rome, as conformable to those of primitive antiquity. "The ministers," saith he, "in administering good things, do only hurt them-

selves, but cannot defile the sacraments of the Church, like the rays of the sun, which pass through the filthiest places without contracting the least impurity ; for it is not man, but God that works in the sacraments." He proceeds to confirm this truth by a reflection. 1. On the example of the Scribes and Pharisees, who sat in the chair of Moses, and whose wickedness had no influence on the word of life, whereof they were the dispensers. 2. Upon the authority of St. Paul, who saith, "that he who plants is nothing, nor he that watereth, but that it is God alone who gives the increase." *Epistol. ad Anas. Imperat.* St. Isidore of Seville, *Originum*, lib. 6. cap. ult. insists in the footsteps of St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, asserting that it is the Holy Spirit that works all in the sacraments ; whence he concludes, that whether they be administered by good or bad ministers, the effect is always the same ; which Rome is fain to deny, because of their Doctrine of the Priest's Intention. We find the same doctrine in supposed Ambrose, in his Treatise of the Sacraments, lib. 4. c. 4 et 5, where he attributes no other action to priests, but that of reciting the prayers by which the consecration is performed ; and for the rest, attributes all the force of the sacrament to the powerful words of our Saviour.

Alcuinus builds on the same principle. "There are," saith he, "in the sacrament three visible things, and three invisible ; the visible are the priest, the body, and the water ; the invisible are the Holy Ghost, the soul, and faith ; the three visible things can do no good outwardly, if the three invisible things do not operate within. The priest washes the body with water, and the Holy Ghost justifies the soul by faith." Paschasius Radbertus accords with the foregoing authors in his treatise of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, cap. 12. where he lays down several maxims, all which overthrow the necessity of intention. The first is, that as much is received from a wicked, as from a good priest, *intra Catholicam Ecclesiam, ubi Catholica fide hoc mysterium celebratur.* 2. That it is Jesus Christ that baptizeth, and that it is he that consecrates by the Holy Ghost. 3. He proves by the words of the mass, *jube hæc perferrri*, that it is in virtue of the priesthood of Jesus Christ that the consecration is performed. 4. He makes use of these remarkable expressions : *unde Sacerdos non ex se dicit quod ipse Creator corporis et sanguinis esse possit, quia si hoc posset, quod absurdum est, Creator Creatoris fieret.* 5. He proves, that the priest only acts in his ministry in the

name of the Church, whose vows and prayers he offers up, to which the people answer, Amen, to shew that the priest speaks in the name of the people, and not in his own. 6. He proves that all the efficacy of the Sacrament is derived from the words of Christ, by whomsoever they may be recited; which he makes out by the example of those, who, though they were wicked, yet cast out devils in the name of Jesus Christ. In which quotation we may take notice of a thing very considerable; Paschasius had maintained that it was Jesus Christ who creates the flesh in the sacrament of the eucharist, and declares the opinion of those who should be so rash to say that the flesh of Jesus Christ is created by the priests, is ridiculous; wherein he follows the opinion of Cassiodorus, who positively maintains that a creature cannot create, *de Animā*, cap. 3. Gratian reports this opinion of Paschasius, as of St. Austin; but in process of time the disciples of Paschasius grew more bold than their master. There is a little book* in which the Schoolmen having put it to the question, whether a simple creature can create; one of the parties maintains the affirmative from the example of a priest, who creates the flesh of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, they introduce a priest, saying, that he creates Jesus Christ. The expression is very considerable, and sufficiently shews the doctrine of Intention, without which Jesus Christ could not create his flesh, though he had a will to do it. Forasmuch as Paschasius is one of those who hath altered the belief of the Church, as to the point of the eucharist, we might well expect that he should have said something concerning the intention of the minister of the sacraments; but the inventions of the mind of man are not perfected all at once, there is time required to complete them, and he hath left that glory to succeeding Schoolmen, who have highly refined his subtlety. Pope Nicholas I.† traces the same steps concerning a baptism administered by a Greek Christian, whose ministry was not certainly known, he troubles not himself about his secret intention, but only whether he had pronounced the words required to the sacrament. His decision is set down by Gratian, *Dist. 2. cap. a quodam Judæo,*‡ and he follows the doctrine of Pope Anastasius.

Petrus Damiani, in the eleventh century, taught the same

* Stella Clericorum et Biel in Canon. Missæ Lect.

† Tom. 9. Concil. ult. edit.

‡ [Dist. 4. c. 24. Corp. Jur. Can. vol. 1. p. 1984. Lugd. 1671.]

doctrine so plainly, in conformity to the sentiments of St. Austin and Paschasius, that it is impossible to express the same more clearly; he repeats their considerations, amplifies them, and joins new ones to them in his treatise entitled *Gratissimus*,* cap. 10, 11, 12, 13. Algerus teacheth the same thing, quoting the treatise of Paschasius, as St. Austin's, lib. 1. c. 11. et lib. 3. c. 8. Hugo de Sancto Victore did so little believe that the intention of doing what the Church doth, is required to make a true sacrament, that he maintains, *Summ. Sent. Tract. 6. c. 7*, that heretics and excommunicated persons cannot make a sacrament; his reason for it is very decisive, "Because," saith he, "he that consecrates doth not say, I offer, but, we offer, speaking in the name of the whole Church." It is true that Gratian hath opposed this doctrine of St. Austin, in Caus. 1. q. 1, yet forasmuch as he quotes in his decree, the book of Paschasius, of the body and blood of Christ, under the name of St. Austin, he also cites from the twelfth chapter of that book, most of the maxims of that Father, which Paschasius had imitated, as we may see, *de Consecrat. Dist. 2. c. 72. et Causa 1. cap. 77.*

Lombardus follows the steps of Gratian, lib. 4. Dist. 13; he handles the question, whether wicked ministers can diminish the virtue of the sacraments; and he alleges a great many passages out of the Fathers, who discuss this point, but, neither he, nor those he alleges, shew themselves to have had any knowledge of this opinion, that the Church made the validity of the sacraments to depend on the minister; yea, he sets down a great many maxims which make it apparent that he was of a quite contrary opinion, as well as the Fathers he quotes on this occasion.

Cardinal Pullus at the same time wrote his books, wherein we find the same doctrine, p. 5. c. 15; where he lays down for a maxim, that he who is baptized, cannot in any degree be prejudiced by the wickedness of him that baptizeth. To this cardinal we may join another, viz. Lotharius,† who was since Pope Innocent III., he gives a reason why the priest in the mass saith *offerimus*, though he alone offers. "Because," saith he, "in that action he acts not in his own name, but in the name of the whole Church;" from whence he draws this conclusion, *Quapropter in Sacramento Corporis Christi, nihil a bono magis, nihil a malo minus perficitur Sacerdote, dum-*

* Opusc. 6. tom. 3. p. 41, et seq. † De Myst. Missæ, lib. 3. cap. 5.

modo Sacerdos cum cæteris in arca consistat, et formam observet traditam a Columba; quia non in merito Sacerdotis, sed in Verbo Creatoris; non ergo Sacerdotis iniq[ue]itas effectum impedit Sacramenti, sicut nec infirmitas Medici virtutem medicinæ corrumpit. Quamvis igitur opus operans aliquando sit immundus, semper tamen opus operatum est mundum. Nothing could be more expressly spoken to make out his belief, that the wickedness of a priest cannot hurt the communicants, than which nothing is more false, according to the opinion of the Church of Rome at present. Præpositivus, the prince of divines of his time, maintains that heretics may perform all the sacraments, if they do but observe the form of the Church, and speaks not a word of the necessity of intention, no more than Robert of Flamesbourg, penitentiary of Paris, whose treatises being yet in manuscript, are quoted by P. Morin.* These two divines lived towards the end of the twelfth century.

The same doctrine continued still in the thirteenth century, though it seems to have been somewhat tainted. William of Auxerre, who died in the year 1223, doth no more require the intention of the minister, than of him who presents the infant to be baptized, and thinks it sufficient if either of them have the intention to perform, or receive the sacrament, though otherwise one of them may be an unbeliever, and make a mock of it. Albertus Magnus, bishop of Ratisbon, who died in the year 1280, upon the question, whether the word *baptizo*, be essential to the form of baptism, answers affirmatively; his reason is, that though the act of baptizing sufficiently expresses the thing without the word, the intention is more expressed in the action, and in the pronunciation of the word *baptizo*; and that, saith he, because the intention of the person is not required, but rather the intention of the Church, in whose name he doth baptize. Moreover, if we find Thomas Aquinas acknowledging, that there were some divines in his time, who required the mental intention of the minister of the sacraments; if we see Raymundus de Penna forti, requiring the said intention of the minister, as essential to the validity of the sacrament; yet we see on the other side, that the greatest men that have written upon this subject, give to this intention which they require in the minister, a sense which only serves to exclude the minister's celebrating

* De Ordin. p. 75 et 76.

the sacrament by way of mockery. What I here assert, may be seen in William bishop of Paris, *de Sacrament. Bapt.* cap. 2, where he proves at large, that the wickedness of the minister cannot prejudice him that receives the sacrament, because the sacrament doth not depend on the minister, who only acts in the name of the Church, and of Jesus Christ, on this occasion. And it is on this ground that he decides the matter about the order of re-ordinating those who have been degraded, the intention of the Church in degrading them, being to deprive them of the ministry which had been committed to them by the Church; much like an attorney, who can no longer act validly, when his letter of attorney is revoked.

Alexander Hales is very express on this point, p. 4. *Summæ Tho. Aquinas* expresseth himself yet more precisely in *Summ. contra Gent.* l. 4. c. 77. et 3. p. q. 64. Art. 8. ad 2, where having represented the opinion of the Church of Rome at this day, which he only attributes to some divines of his time, he saith, that the other party are more in the right, who maintain, that the minister of the Church acts in the name of the whole Church; that in the words he utters, he expresseth the intention of the Church, which is sufficient for the perfection of the sacrament, except the contrary be expressed outwardly by the minister, or by him who receives the sacrament. He repeats the same thing in 4. *Sentent. Distinct.* 6. q. 1. Art. 2. True it is, that Cardinal Cajetan hath endeavoured to obscure this text of Thomas Aquinas; but Salmeron observes, lib. 2. Disp. 2. in Epist. Pauli, that these words being clearer than the day, Cajetan hath been justly censured by the Roman Catholics themselves, for putting another sense upon him, rather than submitting to truth. The same Salmeron also observes in the same place, that St. Bonaventure was altogether of the same opinion as Thomas Aquinas: he lays down in 4. *Dist. 3. Art. 2. q. 2*, that according to the hypothesis of St. Austin, baptism being the sacrament of faith, which is common to all the Church, the faith of the minister can neither hurt, nor help him who is baptized; whence he concludes, that whatsoever may be the intention of him that baptizeth, we are to judge of the baptism itself, by the expressions of his mouth. 2. He asserts, p. 4. *Dist. 10. Art. 2. q. 4*, that it is false, that the virtue of the words of Jesus Christ can consecrate all the bread that is in a market, for that the minister makes use of them against the intention of the Church, and contrary to the institution of our Saviour, wherein he exactly

follows Alexander Hales, who was of his order. These doctors are followed by Alanus surnamed the Great, who died in 1290, after having been a long time regent at Paris. We find his doctrine, cap. 13. *contra Valdenses*, where he proves, that the prayer of a wicked priest cannot prejudice the Church, because he expresseth himself in the name of the Church, when he saith, *Oremus, &c.* that the terms of the prayer he utters, depend on the intention of the Church. He makes the same judgment of the mass said by a wicked priest, without taking any notice of his intention.

In the following age, we find that the greatest men followed the opinion which Thomas Aquinas has preferred; this appears, because we read in Cardinal Aureolus, in 4. Dist. 5. q. 1. Art. 1. "I say, in the sixth place," saith the Cardinal, "in the explication of his definition of baptism, that he must have the intention of doing what the Church doth; for it is not required of him that he have faith, or that he believe that baptism is profitable to the party baptized; but it sufficeth, if he have an intention to do what the Church doth; but I add, or if he be presumed not to have the intention to do what the Church doth. I speak this chiefly, because supposing the minister hath not the intention which the Church hath, but in the mean while utters the words, without making it appear outwardly that he hath another intention than the Church; some say, that in this case he doth not baptize, and that one so baptized, ought to be re-baptized; but for my part, I think the contrary ought to be maintained, because otherwise the Church would be imposed upon, and deceived, &c." And that which is pleasant on this point is, that after having taken notice, that the opinion which he opposeth, is only the sentiment of some, he refutes it by the example of marriage, which is accounted valid as soon as the form of words is pronounced, which is the very instance Cardinal de Lugo alleged amongst his principles, after Durandus, to confirm the necessity of inward intention, without which the marriage could not subsist.

I am well enough acquainted, that the force of these reasons was not able to persuade the contrary party, of which we have a proof in Durandus, who maintains mental intention to be necessary, and that with might and main. However, we may take notice, that these reasons cast them into an extreme, which clearly shews, that they and truth were parted. 1. Durand lays down, that we are always to suppose the priest to

have intention, when he pronounceth the words of the sacrament; which is a supposition without the least proof or ground, especially when we know of popes and priests that have been atheists and magicians, and others who have declared at their death, that they had been always Jews. Balzac relates a notable example of this kind, of a Spanish priest, and we may guess that these instances are not so very rare, if we consult Grillandus, Farinacius, and Delrio, about this matter. 2. He pretends that those at age, would not run any risk of their salvation, for that as long as they have faith, God will assuredly save them, notwithstanding that against their wills they have been deprived of baptism. But then if we consider, that without baptism, and its character, which is not imprest without baptism, there is no means left, according to the opinion of Rome, to become a priest, bishop, or pope, will there not continually remain an ocean of doubts, uncertainties, and nullities, which necessarily follow from a baptism conferred without intention, and which is really null and void? 3. He pretends, that as to an infant, who hath no faith, we ought piously to believe that Jesus Christ supplies what a wicked minister may have omitted. Franciscus de Mayronis* doth much alike resolve the matter into the same pious hope that God supplies the minister's defect; in which opinion he has for his companion Petrus de Palude.† But besides that, this last cited author clearly resolves the reasons brought to confirm the necessity of the secret intention of the minister of the sacraments; besides that, he witnesseth, that those who opposed this necessity, did allege against the same the authority of Thomas Aquinas, and that he declares he embraced the opinion of this necessity, only because it seemed to him an opinion which was both more sure and more common; this hope that God supplies the minister's default, hath been refuted before them by Thomas Aquinas, 3. p. q. 64. Art. 1 ad 2. and after them, hath with scorn been rejected by Adrian VI. pope of that name, in 4 Quæst. 1. Art. 4. de Intent. Minist. But further, 1. What ground is there for this pious belief? 2. Do not the same difficulties still return, forasmuch as the character cannot be imprinted but by baptism actually received? And therefore Gulielmus a Rubione, who lived in Spain, in great fame and repute, finds it a hard thing to maintain, that the intention of the minister is to that degree

* In 4. Dist. 4. q. 3.

† In 4. Dist. 6. q. 2.

necessary in baptism and other sacraments, that without it we cannot be made partakers of the same. He considers the consequences of this opinion, as being very difficult and cruel ; and he shews, that it was impossible for him to digest them, in 4. Distinct. 5. q. 1. Thomas of Strasbourg, prior-general of the Austin Friars, who flourished about the midst of that century, declares distinctly, upon occasion of an objection he had made to himself, that the intention of a man is not known to any but God : I say, he declares, that the intention being sometimes hid in the heart, and sometimes appearing externally by marks and expressions, the latter is sufficient for the validity of the sacrament, in 4. Dist. 5. q. 1. Marsilius ab Ingen. follows near upon his steps in 4. q. 3. Art. 2. for he saith, that we are to judge of the intention required, by that of it which appears outwardly ; adding, that if the minister should chance to have a contrary intention, that would not prejudice the baptized party, because it ought to be believed, that God would notwithstanding communicate to him the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which at the bottom is nothing else but a plain overthrowing of the necessity of the minister's intention, or a miserable contradicting of one's self.

In the fifteenth age we find the same doctrine also defended by the most famous men ; this appears from the sentiment of John Lyndwood, in his *Provincial*, lib. 3. tit. 23. on the chap. Linteamina ; for though he say, that the intention is always necessary, either special or general, yet withal, he believes that not only the intention of him who consecrates is required, but also the intention of him who has instituted the sacrament ; whence he concludes, that if a priest should in the midst of a market, pronounce the sacramental words, though with intention to consecrate, there would be no transubstantiation, not by any defect of virtue in the words, but because of the defect of the intention of him who hath instituted this sacrament, whose design is not, that consecration should be performed in such a way of mockery and folly, but for the profit and need of the Church general or particular, according to Tho. Aquinas de Verit. lib. 6. It is true, he owns that some divines were of another mind, maintaining, that a priest might consecrate all the bread in a market-place, yea, though he did not design it for the use of man, but for some magical use, or only to mock and deride the sacrament. But Lyndwood refutes this opinion, because he hath not an intention to do what the Church doth, and declares, that herein he follows the doctrine of Hugo de Sancto Victore, which I have set down before.

Capreolus is very express on this Question, in 4. Dist. 1. q. 1, where he represents that the words of baptism do sufficiently determine the sense of the action of baptism. Thomas Waldensis exactly follows the doctrine of Alger, which we have before set down, tom. 3. cap. 28. Angelus de Clarisio maintains the same hypothesis in his *Summa Angelic. voce Baptismus*, n. 5. §. 7. and declares, that herein he follows the mind of Pope Innocent III. cap. 1. *de Baptism.* where he makes use of the very words of Cardinal Aureolus on this subject

Lastly, We may say, that this opinion hath not been given over in the sixteenth age neither, notwithstanding that the contrary sentiment made so great a progress, having carried it in the Council of Trent, in hatred and opposition to Luther, who opposed it. To make out this, we need only read what Sylvester Prieras writes in his *Summ. voce Baptismus*, cap. 3. n. 12, where we find him preferring the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, to that which he had propounded, and he confirms it by the authority of Bonaventure and Cardinal Aureolus, and holds with it, as being the more rational. Bundier, a divine of the order of the Jacobites, shews that he was of the same mind, in his book entitled, *Compendium Dissidii*, published at Paris in 1540, with approbation and privilege, Tit. 11. Art. 7. Conradus Clingius,* a famous Franciscan divine of Erfurt, teaches, that in every sacrament there are two things, the one whereof is done by God, the other by the minister, that it is Jesus Christ who baptizeth in the sacrament of baptism, and consecrates in that of the eucharist. He terms the one *opus operans*, the other *opus operatum*, allotting nothing to the minister, but the outward action of applying the water to the party baptized. Whence he concludes at the end of the fifth chapter, that the Protestants and Church of Rome are near agreed on that point. Cousserd, a divine of Paris, seems to be of the same opinion in his book against the Waldenses, p. 59. Vignier follows, in a manner, the same doctrine in his Institutions of Divinity, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas, cap. 16. *de Sacrament. in Communi.* ver. 6, which he published in 1565. I have already given an account of the sentiment of Catharin bishop of Minori, as it is set down by Father Paul, and extracted from the book which he caused to be printed during the session of the Council of Trent; he expresses himself so conformable to the doctrine of

* Loc. com. p. 380, lib. 4. cap. 2.

the Protestants, that Scribonius can find no difference between them, except only, that Catharin at the end of his treatise submits his judgments to the authority of the Church and its Councils, which the Protestants refuse.

A while after the Council of Trent, we find that the reasons of Catharin, and other divines that preceded him, had made so deep an impression on the spirits of men, that Salmeron, though a great divine of the Pope's in the Council of Trent, yet wrote in favour of this opinion, and maintains, that without ruining all the certainty we ought to have concerning the article of the Church, which we are bound to believe, we cannot frame to ourselves any other belief. He opposeth the contrary doctrine, lib. 1. Disp. in Epist. Disp. 2, by so many texts of holy Scripture, and testimonies of the ancient doctors, that it is hard to conceive how any one could be so fool-hardy as to contradict him. And he is followed herein by Scribonius, a famous Parisian divine, who hath exhausted that matter, and superadded many new arguments to those of Salmeron and Catharin.

But forasmuch as my design is not to carry on the history of this question any farther, and that my business only is to make it appear, that the Church of Rome hath neither Scripture nor tradition to favour this her opinion, it will be time now to pass to the other means, whereby the novelty of this conceit doth appear, *viz.* by making out, that none of the Churches that are separate from the Roman communion, teaches or believes concerning this point, as she does.

1. We know, that as far as the Churches separated from the Roman communion are from permitting the administration of the sacraments to laymen or pagans, so far are they from this opinion of the Church of Rome, *viz.* that it is no matter who is the minister, provided only he have the intention of doing what the Church doth. The Church of Rome at present holds in opposition to that of old, that it were better to go to a heretic for baptism, than to be deprived of it, as may be seen in the canon *Præter*, Dist. 32. But the body of the Greek Church rejects this maxim as absurd, and rebaptizeth those that have been baptized by any others besides the ministers of that sacrament. This is testified by John Faber, concerning the Moscovites, who do not differ from the Greek Church.

2. Whereas the Roman Church hath wholly changed the notion of the sacraments and their definition, in making their

validity to depend on the intention of the minister, we find the Greeks religiously retaining the notions and definition of St. John Damascene, which we find in the writings of Jeremy, against the divines of Wittemberg, and in the Confession of Faith, written by Metrophanes Critopulus. Not but that the Church of Rome hath endeavoured to bring them over to their belief some ages since : to which purpose they a great while ago caused the greatest part of the Theological Sums of Thomas Aquinas, and his four books against the Gentiles, to be made known to them ; and from thence the Greeks have borrowed the gibberish of the Schoolmen, which for a dozen ages was unknown in the Church, concerning the matter and form of the sacraments. But if on the one hand Thomas Aquinas takes notice of the strange conceit of some divines of the Latin Church, about the matter of the intention of the minister ; so on the other hand, he defends the more sober opinion about this question in such a manner, as that to those who have some notion of this matter, his writings will be found opposite to, rather than favouring these their new opinions. And accordingly we find Manuel Calocas a Jacobite, who wrote in Greek the Articles of the Faith at the end of the thirteenth century, plainly follows the meaning and sense of Thomas Aquinas on this point, alleging a passage of St. Chrysostom, Homil. 83. in Matth. et Hom. 8. in 1 ad Cor. *Stat Sacerdos solam formam implens, at vis omnis verborum est.* tom. 2. Noviss. Auct. B. p. p. 257.

3. This question of the nature and intention required in the minister of the sacraments, which hath made such a noise in the Church of Rome for these five hundred years, is not so much as known to the Greeks. If we read the writings, I do not say of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, for whom the Greeks have had a great veneration for near a thousand years, and whom they have often illustrated with their commentaries ; but the works of more modern authors, as of one Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, of one Cabasilas, and divers others, who have handled the matter of the sacraments, we shall not find in them the least hint of these distinctions, so necessary to appease the conscience of those who receive the sacraments, and who without having some knowledge of this point, cannot choose but be troubled with an infinity of scruples and difficulties.

4. We are to observe, that the Greeks have carried the matter so far concerning this point, that they not only disown

the pretended character of priesthood, but make it to depend on the good life and lawful call of the minister. They maintain, that as soon as a priest has lost his character, which he doth by such crimes as merit degradation, he can neither baptize nor consecrate so as either shall be valid. I do not here examine the question of right, but only that of fact, which is so constant, that Caryophyllus, archbishop of Iconium, imputes it as a great crime to Zacharias Gergan, from whose catechism he extracts this proposition under the title of 62. Blasphemies, *viz.* if the priest be a notorious sinner, he cannot consecrate, and that which he performs is not the sacrament of the eucharist; but if he be not a notorious sinner, that a priest, though he be a sinner, can consecrate. Let this maxim be compared with that of the Schoolmen and Romish catechists, and we shall find that of the latter as opposite as the night is to the day, and all by reason of this intention, which the others were altogether ignorant of.

5. The terrible difference there is between the Greek Church and the Latin, about the form of the sacraments, properly so called, deserves some reflection. The Greeks believe with the ancient Church,* that the prayers are properly the form of consecration in the eucharist, as well as in the other sacraments. The Latins, on the contrary,† do believe that the forms of the sacraments are, in baptism the words, *Ego baptizo te in Nomine, &c.* and in the eucharist, *Hoc enim est corpus meum.* This laid down, it naturally follows, that the Greeks, according to their hypothesis, ought to recommend intention, with respect to the greatest part of their liturgy; whence comes it then, that they have not done it? Moreover, the Greeks express the words of baptism in such a manner, that they seem to leave nothing but the outward action to the minister, *Baptizatur servus Christi in nomine Patris, et Filii, &c.* Morinus‡ asserts, that they do not express the person of the minister in any of the other sacraments, and proves the same at large. Whereas Pope Alexander III.§ and the Schoolmen, are so ill satisfied with this expression of the Greeks, that they pronounce the baptism invalid, when a priest only saith, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, without expressing the person or action of the minister,

* Bessarion Cardin. super Euchar. init.

† Arcud. de Sacram. p. 316.

‡ De Ordinat. p. 228.

§ Lib. 3. Decret. tit. 42. c. 1. [Corp. Jur. Can. vol. 2. p. 1381. Ludg. 1671.] Armach. contra err. Armen. 1. 8. c. 8.

ordering them to make use of these words *Ego baptizo te*, or *baptizo te in Nomine Patris*, &c. From whence can this notion of the Greeks have its rise, but from this, that they consider the minister only as an outward agent, whose intention is not at all material in the case? And from whence comes the niceness of the schools, but because they considered the intention of the minister as an essential part towards the validity of the sacrament.

It is apparent, that the case is no other than we have represented it, because the missionaries, whom the Church of Rome sends abroad to draw to her communion the Churches of the East, make a general law of it, to instruct them concerning the necessity of the minister's intention, in order to the validity of the sacraments. This we see in Thomas a Jesu, lib. 7. *de Conversione omni*, cap. 3 et 4. We find also amongst some propositions extracted out of the books of the Maronites, that they formally rejected the intention of the minister: the proposition is this, *Intentio Ministri non requiritur necessario*. Thom. a Jesu, ibid. cap. 6. We see by the relation of Father Thomas Maria Zampi, missionary in Georgia, Mingrelia and Colchis, which make a part of the Greek Church, that they know nothing of the intention of the minister, which yet the Church of Rome looks upon as no less essential than the matter and form of the sacrament. And last of all, we need only read what the famous Augustinus Govea hath writ concerning the faith of the Christians of St. Thomas, that they did not so much as know what this essential part of the sacrament meant. The synod of Diamper held by Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, took care to instruct them in the same in the fourth action at the beginning.

What I have now represented concerning the difference that is between the Romanists and other Christians, is sufficient to lay open the falsity of the definition of the Council of Trent; for it appears very evidently: 1. That the same is not founded on the holy Scripture. 2. That it is not founded on any ancient tradition peculiar to the Church of Rome. 3. That it hath never been the general belief of her most famous divines. 4. That it is not the faith of those other Christians that are separate from her communion. But to afford a further light yet to this matter, I will add to this discourse some considerations, which will enable us to conceive in what manner the Council of Trent hath handled matters of religion, and what regard we ought to have to her definitions.

The first concerns the boldness wherewith she has defined that question, thundering out her anathemas against those who for the time to come should dare to oppose the belief of the necessity of the minister's intention. Indeed, their behaviour in this matter is very strange : they were not ignorant of the great disputes that were between their own divines about this matter, they were acquainted with the different kinds of intention, of which their divines had spoken, for to put a good meaning upon the definition of the Council of Constance, as well as upon that of Eugenius IV. It was therefore their duty to explain these matters very distinctly, if they had a mind to condemn or ratify any of those opinions. They do nothing of all this, and it is enough for them to pronounce their anathemas against those who shall deny, that the intention to do what the Church doth, is necessarily required in the minister of the sacrament for its validity. So that if this anathema of theirs be of any use at all, it must be only to declare their absolute authority, or else that reason had nothing to do in their assembly. For otherwise why should they not have clearly determined wherein they make that intention to consist, whether it be an intention actual, virtual, or habitual, that is required ? Or an intention direct or indirect, according as the divines of their communion express themselves ? Whether it be an intention absolute or reductive, general or particular. And yet after this their negligence, they have the face to thunder out their anathemas as if it were a matter most clearly explained and understood ; can we imagine a more scandalous use of their authority ? To say the truth, these good Fathers* did not trouble themselves to explain their meanings. *Cæteri homines*, said the Ambassador of France, writing to the Chancellor of the Hospital, *loquuntur ut intelligi possint, isti nihil minus volunt quam ut intelligantur*. They affected obscurity, and were willing only to shew the Protestants, that they were not in the mind to reform any thing. This made them so liberal of their anathemas, and to canonize gross errors newly come from under the anvil of the Schoolmen, errors that were scarcely finished, and but half polished.

The second consideration respects the birth of this error ;†
1. We may justly imagine that it entered the Church of

* Instruct. for the Council of Trent, by M. du Pui.

† Clemang. de Corrupt. Eccles. Stat. c. 6 et 16. [Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. vol. 2. p. 557, 562. Lond. 1690.]

Rome at a time when the priests were so ignorant of the Latin tongue, that they scarce could read it, without making them laugh that heard them ; it was in these barbarous times, when most of the priests did not understand what they said, much less were able to excite any devotion by the words they uttered, either in themselves or the people, who did not understand Latin, that such questions as these had their rise, and are so seriously handled by the Schoolmen, *viz.* whether a priest who corrupts the sacramental words in pronouncing them, doth celebrate a sacrament ? Whether a woman who baptizeth an infant in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the Blessed Virgin, doth truly baptize ? Of which you may see the scientific definitions of the Schoolmen. The first thing that offers itself to the mind about these questions, is, that this person doth, notwithstanding, perform a sacrament ; for how ignorant soever he may be, and though he doth not understand any thing of what he saith, yet for all this he ceaseth not to have the intention of doing what the Church doth. This was the ground of Pope Zachary, in his answer to Boniface,* about the ignorance of a priest in Bavaria, who had baptized *in Nomine Patria, Filia, et Spiritua Sancta* : which ground of his, was notwithstanding, disapproved by a doctor of divinity, of whom St. Vincent of Valentia speaks,† who was rebaptized, because once as he came out of the pulpit from preaching, a woman said to him, Blessed be the day wherein I baptized thee in the name of the Holy Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and all the Angels, as supposing that this alteration of the form did destroy the nature of the sacrament.

We may also probably conjecture, that this foolish opinion owes its rise to a time wherein the corruption was so ordinary, and the profanation so public, that they celebrated mass the day of the Feast of Fools, with actions and gestures more proper to raise laughter, than to excite any respect for the sacrament. We read with a just horror, the manner of this public and solemn profanation set down by Odo bishop of Paris, in 1198.‡ We find the same exactly described by the Parisian faculty of divinity in 1444,§ who endeavoured to abolish the same. The priests assisted at it, disguised in the garb of dancers, of women, and of bawds ; they danced in

* Avent. Annal. B. [l. 3. p. 297. Ingolst. 1554.]

† Conc. 2. Dom. 3. Quadrages. ‡ Not. ad Petr. Blesens. p 778.

§ Ibid p. 782, et seq.

the choir, they sung filthy songs, they eat near to him that celebrated, they played at dice on the altar, they incensed with the smoke of old shoes laid on the coals. It was natural to imagine, concerning this public and authorized profanation, which was carried so high, that the faculty of Paris* was obliged to define, that those who opposed themselves to the abolition of this feast, were not excommunicated ; I say it was natural to imagine, that for to make such a sacrament valid, respect was to be had to the intention of him that celebrated it.

But besides this reflection, it may be said, that this doctrine of the necessity of intention owes its rise to the absolute necessity of baptism. This opinion hath made the Church of Rome in these latter days maintain, on a ridiculous foundation, that a heathen or a Jew may validly administer that sacrament in case of necessity ; I say that this was on a ridiculous foundation. The Schoolmen have imagined, that Pope Nicholas I. had so defined, though indeed there be nothing more false. This Pope being consulted by the Bulgarians, whether the baptism administered by a Greek Christian, who professed himself a priest, though they were not certainly assured thereof, were to be accounted good and valid : the Pope answered, that it was good, and blamed them for having maimed that priest after a barbarous manner, who by a laudable zeal had converted many of them to the faith, and had baptized them. Gratian, or some other transcriber, read this answer of Pope Nicholas I. wrong, as appears from the extract of it cited in the decree of Gratian, where instead of *a quodam Viro*, we read *a quodam Judæo* ; and this mistake made the divines of the Romish school to establish this theological maxim, that a heathen or Jew might baptize in case of necessity ; which is an hypothesis quite contrary to the definition of Pope Gregory II. in an answer to Boniface in these terms, *Baptizentur a Paganis baptizati* ; an hypothesis directly contrary to the doctrine of the ninth century at the time of Nicholas I. as may be seen in chap. xci. of the sixth book of *Capitul.* where it is ordained, that a priest that hath not been baptized, shall be baptized and ordained anew, as well as those whom he hath baptized. After this unhappy mistake, they have committed another ; it was requisite at least, that so extraordinary a minister of the sacrament, should have the intention of doing what the Church doth ; the most ancient, as Lom-

* Conclus. 12. p. 787.

bard, only understood it concerning the outward part of baptism, as I have shewed, and as Pope Nicholas I. had explained it ; but we can say, that since the doctrine of transubstantiation entered into the Roman Church, and her divines began to dispute about the sense in which the words of consecration are pronounced by the priest; some of them maintaining that they were operative, others again, that they were only significative and historical ; this doctrine, which as yet was only rough drawn, received its perfection. Indeed, after the mind of man hath once been able to digest so great an absurdity, as the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of our Saviour, by virtue of the sacramental words pronounced by a priest, it is very fairly disposed to believe, that this virtue of creating the body of Jesus Christ (for so the Schoolmen express themselves) must at least depend on some act of his will. However it be, thus much is certain, that the questions about the priest's intention were never heard of, till after the birth of this doctrine ; and it is only upon this new hypothesis, that such questions as these have been resolved in the affirmative, *viz.* whether the casting of a child into a river, and pronouncing over him, with intention of baptizing him, the words "I baptize thee," &c. be a valid baptism ? Whether a priest passing through a market-place, and pronouncing over all the bread that is there, these words, "This is my body," with design to consecrate, would really consecrate all the bread in the market ? Questions heretofore altogether unheard of, and which the ancient Schoolmen had decided negatively, the thought only of these consequences inspiring them with fear and horror.

We must naturally make a third reflection on the occasion that hath facilitated the entrance of so extravagant an error into the Church of Rome. A party of the Roman Church have maintained long since, that the sacraments produce grace, and contain the same, as vessels contain the liquor that is in them ; an opinion which seems to give a great honour to the sacraments, but at the same time also advanceth the interest of the ministers ; and the doctrine of the necessity of intention comes to support this interest ; for it makes the priests so much the masters of grace, that without them grace cannot reach those who present themselves to receive the sacrament. It was a piece of weakness in Catharin, that he thought to move the Fathers of Trent, by representing to

them the anguishing grief of a father, who should happen to doubt whether his child were really baptized, there being no human means left for him to get rid of it ; this was the very thing the Fathers desired, they had a mind to confirm the empire of the priests over the conscience, and nothing is more efficacious to subject it without reserve, than this notion of the necessity of intention. What will not a man do to obtain the favour of a man who can, when he pleases, suspend the grace of God, and absolutely hinder its effect ? Who can leave our children in the state of heathen's children ? Who can give us nothing but mere water instead of a sacrament ? And who can give us nothing but bread and wine, instead of the substance of the body and blood of our Saviour ? Let us examine a little, whether the politicians who have employed means and opinions capable to make people entirely subject to them, have ever carried things as far as this. In effect, we find that never was a greater slavery and bondage than that to which the Romish priests, and all their clergy have reduced the people of their communion, by means of this new discovery of the necessity of intention for the validity of the sacraments.

I shall conclude with this last reflection, to let us see how fatal it is to engage ourselves in false principles, notwithstanding they may seem very advantageous to our interests. Truths are always found in perfect union, but lies discover themselves presently. This is that which the Church of Romē hath proved to her cost ; she has endeavoured with much application, to establish the empire of her ministers over their people, and to subjugate them with all her power : she has found, that the uncertainties arising from the belief that the intention of the minister is necessary, did much favour her design, and thereupon has defined that necessity. Behold here a great stroke given to establish her grandeur. But what has been the fruit of this definition ? Even the most terrible inconvenience to that Church, which she could possibly have feared from her most mortal enemies, and the most deadly consequence that can possibly be drawn : Salmeron, a famous Jesuit, terms it a scruple, in his second dispute of his first book on the Epistles of St. Paul ; I will leave the judicious reader to judge, whether it ought to pass for a scruple, or a solid difficulty. He discourses there, whether we can assuredly know the Catholic Church, forasmuch as there is no salvation to be had without it ; and that she alone has the

authority of infallibly guiding people in the ways of salvation ; if we do not know her but by such means as may leave us liable to deceit and mistake ; if we do not know her by virtue of a divine revelation, it is manifest we may be deceived : now God hath not revealed, that the present Pope, who is looked upon as head of the Church, is a true Pope ; nor that any of the priests or bishops of the Roman Church, are lawful priests or bishops. These are things we are not assured of but by conjectures, which have nothing common with the certainty of faith. It may be, unlawful means may have been employed in the election of popes or bishops which make it null and void. This difficulty is very perplexing, and Salmeron solves it as well as he can. But see here the most intricate knot of all, and I scarce know whether any be able to loose it ; the doctrine of the necessity of intention leaves all things uncertain in this matter ; for according to this hypothesis, no man being able to know whether he be baptized, neither can he assure himself that the pope has, and consequently, whether he can be a priest, whether he can be head of the Church, whether he can discharge the functions thereof, whether he can define the articles of faith, whether he can make laws for manners, whether he can canonize saints. It cannot be known whether a man be a Christian, whether he be a priest, whether the mass he celebrates be true, whether the absolution he gives be valid ; in a word, nothing can be certainly known that depends upon a hidden intention, which is only known to God, and can alone be assured by him. All this depends not only upon a fact that is obscure and uncertain, but also upon so prodigious a multitude of facts, many ages since, that without a very express revelation, it is impossible to be assured, whether there be ever a lawful minister, or true Christian. Salmeron having perceived this difficulty, which overthrows all possibility of coming to an assured knowledge of the Church, how doth he solve it ? Even by giving to the Council of Trent, a meaning altogether contrary to the intent of that assembly ; for finding that he could no otherwise save himself from this difficulty, he maintains, that the intention required of the minister, is express and certain enough by the words he utters in celebrating the sacraments. We may boldly require all the disputers of the Romish Church, to consider a little of this matter, and to find out a better remedy for this evil, than that which Salmeron has made use of ; it is a thing worthy of their subtlety. But this

remedy can never be met with, without renouncing the doctrine of intention. As for our parts, it will be hard for us to fall into the like mistake, as long as we follow the light of the holy Scripture, and tread in the footsteps of antiquity, which is our express and solemn profession.

BOOK II.

THE POPISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS
CONFUTED, PARTICULARLY AS TO THE PRETENDED
SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

PRETENDED SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE OCCASIONS AND BEGINNINGS OF
IT IN THE WESTERN CHURCH. IN THREE PARTS. WITH A
LETTER TO THE VINDICATOR OF THE BISHOP OF CONDOM.

*To the Reverend Father the Vindicator of the Bishop of
Condom's Exposition.*

REVEREND SIR,

THIS Discourse of Extreme Unction had gone into the world without any preface to the reader, had not your Vindication obliged me to direct one to you, who, it may be, will find yourself concerned to peruse the following papers. I could not by any means suffer myself to be diverted from reading your book that was published last week, and that not merely for gratifying a more than usual curiosity to see what you had to say, but rather for the informing of my judgment; since I could not easily believe, that in saying so much as you have done, you should yet say nothing to the purpose. And therefore you may be sure, I did not fall asleep, when I came to the article of Extreme Unction, but give you full attention there, because I had so lately dwelt upon that argument, and was just then publishing my thoughts about it. Shall I speak my mind freely? It was to me indifferent whether I should find myself obliged to retract anything that I had written, or to tell you, as I do, that you have given me no reason at all to do so. I am as unwilling to anticipate the defence of that worthy person

against whom you are engaged, as to neglect all notice of your Vindication, in a point wherein I am this moment particularly concerned : and therefore I shall tell you generally and briefly how the matter stands, because there seems to be a fitness in it, but without pretending to deserve any thanks from him, or to expect any from you.

As for what you say upon the text of St. James, the main question is whether from those indefinite words, “is any sick among you,” taken in connection with those that follow, there be more reason to believe that it was a standing part of the presbyter’s office to anoint any Christian whatsoever in his sickness, for the forgiveness of his sins ; or from those words, “the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up,” to conclude, that the Apostle having directed all the sick to send for the elders of the Church, did immediately take notice of a case that happened but sometimes, *viz.* that of a miraculous cure upon the prayer of faith, in which case the sick were to be anointed with oil in the name of the Lord.

Now, sir, I beg leave to tell you, that though there are many inducements to the latter opinion offered in the first part of this work, which you seem not to have been aware of, yet I cannot find any one exception against that, or any reason for the former opinion in all your performances, which I have not prevented in mine. Which will be so evident to those who care to take the pains of comparing you and me together ; that I need not fear to be suspected of insincerity, in desiring you* whose zeal will not suffer you to mitigate the earnest desire you have for the salvation of your brethren ; in desiring you, I say, to animadvert upon these papers ; and that for the author’s sake, who is, I dare say, no less concerned to be saved, than you are that he should be so. You know the Council of Trent has damned us (as far as anathematizing goes) for denying your sacrament of extreme unction. If you do in good earnest believe there was cause for it, let us see that you do so, by sparing a little of your charity to save us, if it may be, from this damning error.

Certainly, I could not desire to meet with a man more fit for this undertaking, than you would seem to be. For you, it seems, can prove, that extreme unction is a practice† “that came down from the Apostles, and was from age to age visibly continued in all Christian Churches, both of the East and West,

* Reply, p. 190.

† Reply, p. 70, 71.

for 800 years : how, say you, did the Greek and Latin Churches for the first 800 years practise this unction ; and do Protestants, who pretend to reform according to the primitive purity, reject it ?" I perceive you are very sure of it : pray therefore, will you try to make me so too ; for if you do, I promise you to examine all those reasons from the place over again, which led me to an interpretation of St. James different from yours, and that with a double severity ; though you should not think it needful to pass the least reflection upon them. For I assure you it is the practice of the Church for more than 800 years, and especially the practice of the first six ages, as I understand it, that induces me not a little to believe our interpretation of St. James to be the true one ; which you must not blame me for, who say, that* "the best way of proving things from Scripture, is to shew antiquity understood it so."

But if you thought that your word ought to be taken in so great a point, you should by no means have lessened the authority of it, by telling two (excuse me, reverend Father ! for so it is) I say, two tales, in the very same breath wherein you delivered your oracle about the antiquity and universality of extreme unction.

One tale is, and it is a notable one, that the Defender himself confessed this extreme unction to be so ancient and universal a practice, as you would have it thought to be. Surely if you do not make better proof out of the Fathers, than you have done by the confession of the Defender, we must look out for a new man to prove to us extreme unction by the universal practice and tradition of the Church, as you speak. I find indeed the Defender confessing, that that† interpretation of the words of St. James which he followed, was for 800 years esteemed the undoubted meaning of them, and that the ancient liturgies of the Church, and the public practice of it, do for above 800 years shew that they esteemed this unction, *i. e.* St. James's unction, to belong primarily to bodily cures, and but secondarily only to the sickness of the soul. Now that he should therefore confess extreme unction to have been of so ancient standing, is to make him say the quite contrary to what he does say. For the unction of which he spake, was not extreme, but brought to shew that extreme unction did not in all that time obtain in the Church. I pass by your insinuation, that he supposed the unction mentioned by St.

* Reply, p. 65.

† Def. p. 42, 45.

James was practised by the primitive Church for the first 800 years. He said no such thing, nor supposed any such thing, but only that for 800 years they esteemed St. James's unction to belong primarily to bodily cures ; which they might do, and yet in less time than 800 years they might bring in an unction different from that of St. James, though both of them were primarily designed for bodily cures. In the following discourse I have shewn, that they not only might do so, but that they did do so. But I pass by this, till you give further occasion to display the artifice of these insinuations, which for the present I shall leave to your reader's diligence to gather, if he will take the pains to compare you with the Defender in this article.

The other tale is, and it is brother to the former, that Cardinal Cajetan did not positively say, as the Defender affirmed he did ; who affirmed that Cardinal Cajetan freely confessed the words of St. James could belong to no other than bodily cures. This, sir, quite disheartened me, for I took the Cardinal's confession to be so positive, that I translated it out of the Cardinal himself, and inserted it into a convenient place of the following book,* where any one may find it, and so may judge betwixt you and us in this matter. For I intend not to produce the place here too, and to argue the point precisely, because it is so clear, that there is no need of words to make an honest man understand it ; and all the words in the world will signify nothing, if a man be not so honest as he should be. The only pretence you have that the Cardinal did not positively say, what the Defender affirmed him to have said, is, that the Defender did not give the Cardinal's own words, but what he conceived to be his sense. For he did not translate him as I have done. But, reverend Father, it must be such another man as you seem to be, who reads the Cardinal's words, and will not allow him to be as positive for us, as the Defender said he was. But the worst of all is this, that you do upon this very occasion accuse the Defender of falsification, that is, of falsifying Cajetan, as you tell us in the margin. "I told him," said you, "first, that Cardinal Cajetan did not positively say as he affirmed he did." So that by your own confession you told him so in your book, and therefore this seems to be a very deliberate business, and you stand in it still. But then, you say, what if he had ? Why truly

* Disc. p. 13.

then the Defender did not falsify Cajetan, as you it seems are resolved to say that he does. And thus, where you accuse the Defender of one falsification, you are yourself guilty of two falsifications in the compass of five lines ; one of which is so much the more inexcusable, because it consists in accusing another falsely of the same crime. For these reasons, sir, we desire to be excused, as to believing that all antiquity goes this way and that way, because you say so.

But because I would not be thought unreasonable, I shall be content, if instead of proving antiquity to be for you, you will answer the arguments of the second part to the contrary. Only I desire you not to repeat anything you have said here, which you will find satisfied there. For instance, that the ancient prayers made mention of remission of sins, as well as of bodily cures ; for you will find that* this has been considered to your hand.

And that your work may still be less, I think it were good advice if you would spare the Defender's pains too a little ; that is to say, whereas you have solemnly ranged by pages and articles, his calumnies, falsifications, false translations, insincerities, uncharitable accusations, wilful mistakes of your doctrine, affected misapplications, &c. False impositions, authors misapplied, and plain contradictions ; you would do well to put out an advertisement, signifying and confessing, that there is not one tittle of all this true, nor any colour for any part of this spiteful charge, excepting in the translation of the 32 Can. of Sess. 6. of the Council of Trent, which you note p. 48. of your reply : in which the Defender, trusting to one to translate that canon for him, who did not sufficiently remark the pointing of it, was led into that mistake which you there observe, and which yourself in the same place in good measure acquit him of, by confessing that he understood that same canon aright but in the very next page : and had you only added, that he made no use of that mistake in the management of his argument from that canon, as in justice you should have done, you would then have exposed only your own disposition to cavil, but have done as little prejudice by this, as you have by all the rest to the Defender's honesty or understanding. And it is so very small a matter which here you tax him for, and he, I assure you, has such an untoward business against you in this very place, that I cannot afford to

* Disc. p. 99, 100, 106.

abate anything of the foresaid advice ; to confess once for all, I know not but he may be persuaded to tarry a month or thereabouts, to see whether you will be thus ingenuous and discreet.

You may expect to have employment enough besides, in vindicating the doctrine of your articles ; for I am told that, God willing, you will have another defence in a little time ; and we are apt to think that it will give you and Monsieur de Meaux another year's work, to put words together.

I have but one word more : the Bishop* begs of Almighty God, in the anguish of his soul, &c. you conjure the Defender by all that is sacred, &c. by the eternal God, and his Son Christ Jesus, &c. Reverend sir ; men that are not in earnest may use the most amazing expressions, to make the world believe they are : but be not deceived, God is not mocked ; as you will find. And in the mean time, those that are honest and wise, will not so much consider who they are that break forth into the most vehement exclamations, as who they are that bring the clearest proofs.

Sir, I am,
Your Friend and Servant, &c.

PART I.

THAT THE PLACES OF SCRIPTURE PRODUCED FOR IT,
ARE AGAINST IT.

SECT. I.

*What the doctrine of the Romish Church is, concerning
Extreme Unction.*

How well soever they may agree in the practice of extreme unction in the Roman Church ; yet as to the doctrine of it, their most celebrated writers have* fallen so foully one against another, that to know what it is from them, would cost more pains than the thing is worth. And therefore we will be content, and surely our adversaries will be so too, to take it as it is laid down by the Council of Trent. Which Council has given too much advantage, for us to desire any more from the sentiments of private authors, which, as they without cause

* Reply, p. 188, 173.

† Vid. Dalleum de Extr. Unct. c. 2.

complain, we so often combat, while we pretend all along to attack the established doctrine of the Church. But if the reasons upon which the Council proceeded in its decrees, were not so convincing, as to satisfy all of that communion, but very great men amongst themselves have been of contrary opinions concerning them ; this we have no obligation upon us to dissemble, how unwilling soever they may be to hear of it. I know well enough that an undue advantage may be made of the testimonies of authors, and of the concessions of adversaries, which are sometimes used to underprop a cause, that wants truth at the bottom, and has therefore no foundation of its own : but so long as the arguments and the answers which we produce in this cause are good ones, I hope they will not be thought the worse of, if some of them seemed good also to some men of no mean figure in the Church of Rome.

And now let us see, in the first place, what the doctrine of the Church of Rome is concerning this pretended sacrament. The Council of Trent* has delivered it in this manner.

“ First of all concerning the institution of this sacrament the holy Synod declares and teaches, that our most gracious Redeemer, who would have his servants at all times provided with saving remedies and defences against all the weapons of all their enemies, as he has by other sacraments supplied Christians with those mighty aids, by which they may in the course of their life keep themselves unhurt by all the greater mischiefs that can happen to their souls ; so by the sacrament of extreme unction he has set a most sure guard about them to make good the end of their life. For though our adversary does all our life long seek and catch at every occasion, by any means to devour our souls ; yet there is no time when he strains more vehemently to exert the utmost of his craft to ruin us utterly, and if he can possibly, to bereave us of all trust in the mercy of God, than when he perceives the end of our life to be at hand.

“ But this holy unction of the sick was instituted by our Lord Christ, as a sacrament of the New Testament truly and properly so called; insinuated indeed by St Mark, but recommended and published to the faithful by St. James the apostle, and brother of our Lord. Says he, ‘ Is any one sick, &c.’ In which words, as the Church has learned by apostolical tradition delivered from hand to hand, he teaches the matter, the form,

* Sess. 14. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 821. Lut. Par. 1672.]

the proper minister, and effect of this saving sacrament. For the Church has understood the matter thereof to be oil blessed by a bishop. For this unction does most fitly represent the grace of the Holy Ghost, by which the soul of the sick person is invisibly anointed :” and that the form thereof is this : “ by this holy unction, and by his most holy mercy, God forgive thee whatsoever sin thou hast committed by seeing, by hearing, by tasting, by smelling, and by touching. Amen.” Which form is repeated severally in anointing the seat of each sense ; and according to the Florentine Fathers,* in anointing the feet also for the sins of walking, and the reins for the sensuality that reigned there.

“ Moreover the thing signified, and the effect of this sacrament is explained in these words, and ‘the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.’ For the thing here signified, is the grace of the Holy Ghost, whose anointing cleanseth from transgressions (if any yet remain to be expiated), and from the relics of sin ; and easeth and strengtheneth the soul of the sick person, by exciting in him a great confidence in the divine mercy ; whereby he is in that manner supported, that the trouble and pain which he sustains by his sickness becomes more tolerable, and he resists more easily the temptations of the devil, now closely lying in wait for him, and sometimes, when it is expedient for the welfare of the soul, obtains the recovery of his bodily health.

“ But then, as to the persons who are designed, whether to receive or to administer this sacrament, this also is delivered, and that not obscurely in the foregoing words. For it is there shewn, that the proper ministers of this sacrament, are the presbyters of the Church, by which word here we are not to understand the more aged, or honourable amongst the people, but either bishops or priests, &c. It is declared also, that this unction is to be ministered to the sick, but to those especially, who are so dangerously ill, that they seem to be past recovery ; whence it is also called the sacrament of the dying.† If the sick persons recover after having received this unction, they may again be relieved by it, when the like danger of death happens. Wherefore they are by no means to be hearkened to, who against the manifest and clear sense of the Apostle James,

* Dec. et Eugenii 4. in Conc. Florent. Catech. ad Paroc. de Extr. Unct. Sect. 21. [p. 298. Mechlin. 1831.]

† Sacramentum exeuntium.

teach either that this unction is a device of men, or a rite received from the Fathers that has neither a divine command, nor a promise of grace ; and who assert that it is of no longer use, as having been applied in the Primitive Church to the gift of healing only ; or who say, that the right and usage of the holy Roman Church in the administration of this sacrament, is repugnant to the sense of St. James, and therefore to be altered ; lastly, who affirm that this extreme unction may without sin be contemned by the faithful. For all these things are most evidently contrary to the perspicuous words of so great an apostle, &c.”

So that in the Church of Rome, extreme unction is a sacrament administered to dying persons, the proper effect whereof is the cleansing of them from the remains of sin, by the grace of the Holy Ghost ; and as appears by the form of words used in the administration, it is applied in order to the forgiveness of all sins that have been committed by means of any of the senses. That authority which they pretend for this sacrament is indeed the highest, for they say, it was instituted by Christ. The proof which they produce for this institution, is that it was insinuated by St. Mark, and published by St. James. That the Evangelist did insinuate it, and the other Apostle publish it, we have the word and authority of the Council of Trent. But I will be bold to say, that if men are not content to rely upon the authority of the Council, but will examine its proofs, they may easily be convinced, that neither did St. James publish, nor St. Mark insinuate any such doctrine or practice as it has established. And therefore the wisest passage in the declaration of the Council concerning this matter, is, that they are by no means to be hearkened unto, who teach otherwise than it teaches. For if we can but persuade men to give us the hearing or the reading, we are very confident to make it plain, that not our objections against this pretended sacrament, but their pleas for it, are most evidently contrary to the perspicuous words both of the Evangelist, who is said to insinuate it, and of the Apostle, who is said to publish it.

SECT. II.

That Extreme Unction can by no means be proved from St. James, chap. v. 14, 15.

THE clearest proof they have for this pretended sacrament, are doubtless those words of St. James, ch. v. 14, 15. “Is

any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

Now supposing that the institution of a sacrament were implied in these words, and that the outward sign thereof were anointing with oil, yet this could not by any means be the sacrament of extreme unction in the Church of Rome. For according to St. James, the sick person was to be anointed in order to the raising of him up, or his recovery from sickness. But the sick are anointed in that Church for purging away the remains of their sins, when they seem to be past hopes of recovery. And though perhaps one or other may recover afterward, yet this is merely accidental, and besides the intention of administering their sacrament; which they therefore call the sacrament of the dying. Nay, the sick person in St. James was not to be anointed, only in order to his recovery, but his recovery was *certainly* to follow, for it is said, "the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." Which one observation is sufficient to overthrow all the hope they have in this text. For St. James does indeed advise anointing with oil, but it is in such a case when most assuredly the sick person should not die. The Church of Rome also does require the same, but it is when nothing can be well expected but the death of the patient. Now which way they can gather a sacrament of extreme unction, from an authority that requires an unction which is not extreme, how they can prove a sacrament which they pretend to be proper for dying persons, from those words of Scripture that mention a rite never used upon dying persons; a man must have a great deal of wit or rather a good share of the contrary to be able to imagine.

Which one thing seems to have been so well considered by Bellarmine,* and others after him, that they found it necessary to interpret these words: "The prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up," not so much of restoring health to the body, as of cleansing, forgiving, and quieting the soul. And so they have made St. James to use expressions in such a sense, as never man of understanding did either before or after him, till the cause of the Church of Rome made

* Bellar. de Extr. Unct. c. 3. Dico secundo, illa verba duo, &c. [vol. 3. p. 708. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

it necessary for these men to interpret words against all rules of speaking. For according to the perpetual use of words, what is it to save the sick, but to save him from his sickness? What is it to raise up sick a man, but to restore him to health? And who would interpret these expressions otherwise, but they whose cause is desperate if they be not otherwise interpreted? But if it be asked what grounds they pretend for this liberty of interpretation; you must know that the word *saving*, indifferently refers to the healing of the body, or to the restoring of the soul; and the word *raising*, though properly used of something that belongs to the body, yet by a metaphor frequently used in Scripture, signifies also to "drive away sadness and dulness from the mind." Which is true indeed, but nothing to the purpose. For though these words,* *saving* and *raising* may have different significations according to the different matters spoken of; yet it is but one thing which they signify, when they are restrained by some peculiar matter. For instance, to *raise*, is a word that may be used to express either awakening one that sleeps, or bringing one that is careless to attention, or comforting the sorrowful, or recovering a sick man, or giving life to one that is dead. But will any man in his wits, unless he be carried away by the service of a cause, affirm, that "to raise him that sleeps," does indifferently signify all the other things, and not only awakening him out of his sleep? By the same reason "to raise the sick," can signify nothing but to raise him from his sickness, and to restore him to health. And though Bellarmine, who was resolved to say something for every thing, was not ashamed to lay down so absurd an exposition as the other is, upon grounds so frivolous; yet it is a wonderful thing that Estius† should come after him, and trifle as the other does, and almost in his very words. Which in such a man as he was, who sometimes freely used the good judgment which he had, is one of the greatest instances that I ever met with, of the power of prejudice, and the necessity they are under of going beneath themselves, that are forced to serve a party.

For Estius upon this place, had but a little before acknowledged, that the health of the body is signified by this word *σώσει*, 'shall save,' according to the exposition of almost all interpreters. And then he adds very judiciously, that "since the Apostle spake of bodily sickness, it is agreeable to the

* Σωζειν, ἔγειρειν.

† Comment. in Ep. p. 1144. Par. [p 1142, 1143, Colon. Agr. 1631.]

rules of speaking, to understand the saving which follows, of health of the same kind, that is, of bodily health. But then by what authority must we understand these words *saving* and *raising*, of purifying and restoring the soul too? Why, says he, "we are not however to exclude the understanding of the welfare and health of the soul under these words." Would one believe that a man of judgment should talk so pitifully? For if the health of the body only, be expressed by the words in question, which is as plain as any thing needs to be made by words, then although the health of the soul is not excluded thereby, yet the understanding of the soul's health by these words, is to be excluded; or we must for ever despair of knowing how much and no more is signified by plain words. If I promise a man food, my words indeed do not exclude giving of him raiment too, but they exclude any other meaning but what the words signify, which is, that I will give him food. As for the reason added by Estius, why the health of the soul is not to be excluded, *viz.* "because bodily health is referred here to the safety of the soul;" it is a most lamentable reason for understanding this by that; since it will hold as well for understanding the health of the soul by the sickness of the body, which is every whit as much referred to the health of the soul, as the health of the body is.

The plain truth of the case is this; it is so evident, that St. James by these words means nothing else but the recovery of bodily health, that these men are forced to shifts that were never heard of before, to make something else to be understood by them, because otherwise their sacrament is lost. That St. James does mean bodily health, is a truth that stares them so fully in the face, that they are not able to dissemble it; not Bellarmine himself,* though he will not allow the gift of healing to be meant: and therefore to draw some faint resemblance between the use of their extreme unction, and that use of unction which is mentioned in St. James; they are forced to pretend one effect of their sacrament to be the cure of the body "so far as it is expedient," as Pope Eugenius IV.† says, and "when it is expedient for the welfare of the soul," as says the Council of Trent.

Nay, Bellarmine tells us, that‡ "the Church anoints those

* Bellar. de Extr. Unct. c. 3. Sect. Quod autem nec loquatur, etc. [Ut supra, p. 707. col. 1.] Ad secundum Argumentum, etc. [Ibid. col. 2.] c. 8. Secundo, nomine. [Ibid. 713. col. 1.] † Eugen. Decret. in Conc. Flor.

‡ Bell. de Extr. Unct. c. 3. Respondeo, inungit Ecclesia, etc. [Ibid. p. 708. col. 1.]

who are in danger of death; for then supernatural remedies are to be sought to, when there is no hope left in those that are natural. And though sick persons are anointed that they may be healed, if it be expedient to their eternal salvation, yet it is rightly called extreme unction, because it is the last in respect of those unctions which we receive in other sacraments, in baptism, in confirmation, and in orders." One may wonder at this, till he knows the reason of it, which is, that he was now answering that grievous objection against their arguing from St. James, that "their unction is indeed extreme, because it is given to dying persons; but St. James meant not an extreme unction, because he would have it administered to those that were to be healed." How sadly the Cardinal was put to it, to get over this difficulty, is evident from his answer, where he gives such a reason why their unction is called extreme, as neither stands with their practice in anointing, nor with the use of the word extreme, nor with the* judgment of the divines of that Church, who generally affirm with the Council of Trent, that unction is appointed for the relief of those that are going out of the world, and conclude, that it is therefore called extreme unction, because it is not to be given till the sickness is desperate. But when a man is not able to stand before an objection that is against him, he must seem to say the same thing that the objection says, as Bellarmine here does, who one would think by these words, makes the recovery of the patient the immediate end of their unction, and will not allow the unction to be called extreme, as if it intimated the sick man's hastening to the period of his life.

But does it at any time appear, that their unction restores a sick man to health? Or that they so much as expect it? Is any such effect expressed in the form of administration, or any thing more than the forgiveness of sins that are committed by means of the senses? Nay, do not they call this the sacrament of dying persons; and to be given especially to those that "seem to be departing out of this life?" Does not Bellarmine† himself argue for their extreme unction, from the convenience of being provided with a sacrament to strengthen us in our departure out of this world? Nay, does not the Council of Trent tell us, that by the sacrament of extreme unction, "God has set a most sure guard about Christians, to make good the end of life?" For what reason therefore does the same Council

* Vid. Dalleum de Extr. Unct. c. 2.

† Ibid. c. 5.

tell us, that the sick person having been anointed, does “sometimes, when it is expedient for the welfare of the soul, obtain the recovery of his bodily health ?” Why, I say, do they in the doctrine of this their sacrament, mention an accident so impertinent to the nature and design of it, as the recovery of bodily health ? I answer, because they are driven to it by an extreme necessity of feigning some resemblance between the use of their unction, and of that in St. James. For it is so plain that St. James promises bodily health upon what he prescribes to be done, that the wit of man is not able to disguise it. And therefore it was absolutely necessary to give some hint of the same thing in their doctrine about extreme unction ; though he must either have no eyes, or wink hard, who sees not that it is thrust in most impertinently, and against the whole tenor of their doctrine and practice, which plainly shew, that it is not administered by them for the prolonging of life, but for the assistance of the soul at the hour of death.

Which these men are so sensible of, that they dare not venture their cause upon this weak attempt of bending their sacrament to the text, by pretending some regard in their unction to the recovery of bodily health ; but find themselves obliged also to bend the text as unreasonably to their sacrament, by pretending that St. James does not speak of restoring health only, in those words of saving the sick, and raising him up, but of cleansing and strengthening the soul too, as Bellarmine and Estius would make us believe. By which artifice they have not done their cause so much service, as they have discovered good will to it, since we cannot but observe, that themselves were conscious how impossible it is to make the text and their sacrament meet, without forcing both the one and the other by an unnatural representation. And yet even thus much violence will never bring them together, so long as it is manifest that to the use of this rite of anointing in St. James, as it is by him required, the recovery of bodily health is absolutely promised ; which they can with no face pretend to be the constant or even frequent effect of their extreme unction, since their doctrine and practice proclaim it to be the sacrament of the dying.

As for the forgiveness of sins mentioned in the following words of St. James, it was promised upon a supposition, that the sick person had committed sins : “And if he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.” Which plainly seems to be the supposition of a case, that was not common to all that were healed upon receiving the unction mentioned by the Apostle.

And that even this promise does not afford the least ground for the unction of the Roman Church, will appear when I come to explain the several expressions in the text.

In the mean time, to shew that the power of truth does sometimes prevail upon men of the best note in the Church of Rome, I shall close this point with the confession of no meaner a man than Cardinal Cajetan, who determines thus upon this place of St. James. “It neither appears by the words, nor by the effect, that he speaks of the sacrament of extreme unction, but rather of that unction which our Lord appointed in the Gospel, to be used upon sick persons by his disciples. For the text does not say, ‘Is any man sick unto death?’ But absolutely, ‘Is any man sick?’ And it makes the effect to be the recovery of the sick, and speaks but conditionally of the forgiveness of sins: whereas extreme unction is not given but when a man is almost at the point of death, and as the form of words then used, sufficiently shews, it tends directly to the forgiveness of sins.”

This was said like an honest man; and if all men of sense would say what they think, this controversy, with many more, would soon be at an end.

SECT. III.

The true Interpretation of St. James's words.

THOUGH what hath been said is enough to deprive the Roman unction of all relief and support from this place of Scripture; yet for the benefit of those, who possibly have not well considered the text of which we have been speaking, I shall first offer the plain meaning of it, and shew for what end and purpose anointing with oil was prescribed by St. James; and then confirm the interpretation by those arguments that led me to it, and by such answers as may be sufficient to remove our adversaries' objections against it.

We say then, that several extraordinary gifts were by the Spirit dispersed amongst the first believers, for the establishing Christianity in the world; and that one kind of these were the gifts of healing.*

That they who had this power, were directed by the impulse of the Spirit, when or upon what persons to exert it. That

* 1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30.

being thus directed, they called upon the name of the Lord with assurance of the event, and the sick were accordingly restored to their health.

That sometimes they did in this manner heal the sick, upon whom diseases had been inflicted, as a punishment for some sins they had been guilty of.

That in this direction of St. James, "Is any man sick," &c. he refers to these extraordinary gifts of healing; and that he prescribes anointing the sick person with oil, in that case only, when the elders knew by the Spirit, that the gift of healing was to be shewn, and that the Lord would raise him up.

So that in case of sickness, St. James directs the sick person to send for the elders of the Church, and adds a particular motive so to do from the gift of healing, which then flourished in the Church, *viz.* that if it seemed good to God, which the elders would assuredly know by the instruction of the Spirit, he should by their praying over him be restored to his health. In which case, to signify the supernatural gift of God in raising him up, they were, according to custom, to anoint him with oil. Whereupon the event would shew that their prayer was not the prayer of vain confidence, but of faith, and that they had not in vain anointed the sick with oil, in testimony of their assurance of his recovery; for, as he says, "the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up." And to advise the sick man more effectually to take this religious course, he adds another motive, that if that sickness were sent to punish him for some sins that he had committed, even that should not hinder his recovery, any more than if it had been inflicted only for the trial of his faith and patience; for "his sins should be forgiven him."

In which interpretation the main point of controversy that remains between us and our adversaries, is that, as we say, the unction mentioned by St. James, was a rite or ceremony of miraculous healing. For if this proves true, all their pretence from this place to establish a sacrament of extreme unction, for the sanctifying of the soul, and the forgiveness of their sins who are ready to depart out of this life, it is all, I say, irrecoverably overthrown. And therefore let us now inquire into the meaning of St. James's unction, and see whether there be not sufficient reason to conclude of it as we do, and no appearance of reason for what they conclude from it.

There are but three ways that I know of, which the New Testament affords to find out the use and meaning of this

ceremony at the beginning of the Gospel. One is, to compare this place with Mark vi. 13. Another to consider the words of the place itself. And a third to see what light is given to it, by the following passages in St. James, that have a manifest connection with the text that is under debate.

If our interpretation will bear the trial of all these ways of examination, and theirs will bear none of them ; if according to ours, all things are plain, natural and consistent, and if theirs disturb every thing, and will not suffer those things to hang together which ought to do so : then I should think the authority of Scripture will plainly enough appear to be on our side.

SECT. IV.

What was signified by anointing with oil in St. Mark.

I BEGIN with the forementioned place of St. Mark ; which is the only text in all the New Testament, besides that of St. James, where anointing with oil is mentioned. There it is said of the twelve who were sent forth by our Saviour to preach, and to confirm their doctrine by signs and wonders ; that “they went out and preached that men should repent ; and they cast out many devils ; and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them.” In which words it is evident, that the anointing with oil, which the Apostles used, was the ceremony of a miraculous cure of the sick ; for they gave an account of what the Apostles did in the pursuance of that commission, and in the use of that power which they had received from Christ. But that they received power from him to cure diseases, is expressly affirmed by St. Luke,* “Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases ; and he sent them to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick.” And therefore what can be more plain than that the healing mentioned by St. Mark, was by the use of that power which they had received from their Master, *i. e.* that it was miraculous ? And consequently, that the anointing with oil, which is joined with it, was nothing else but a symbol or sign of the miraculous cure. Now that it was very frequent to use certain outward actions in the performance of a miracle, is evident also from the Scriptures, such actions namely as could

* Luke ix. 1, 2.

by no means be thought to have any natural force in procuring the effect, but rather to raise the expectation of a miracle, and to signify that what would follow was to be done by a supernatural power. Thus before the dividing of the Red Sea,* “Moses lift up his rod, and stretched out his hand over the sea, to divide it.” Thus also with his rod† he smote the rock in Horeb, and water came out of it. Thus our Saviour, to cure the deaf man that had an impediment in his speech,‡ “put his fingers into his ears, and he spit, and touched his tongue.” And before he raised the young man that was dead,§ he touched the bier. The examples of which kind are so many in both Testaments, that there is no need of mentioning any more. And one of them is this before us, of anointing the sick with oil, and healing them.

Which ceremony had been of ancient use, and was known to have a signification not much unlike that of imposition of hands. It was commonly used to denote the conferring either of authority and office, or gifts and graces enabling for the administration thereof. Whence it might by an easy turn be applied (as imposition of hands undoubtedly was), to signify so extraordinary a gift and favour of God to a sick man, as that of raising him up by a miraculous power. Especially, if as Grotius|| has observed, it was an ancient custom amongst the Hebrews, to join imposition of hands to those prayers which were offered in any man’s behalf; so when prayers were made for the sick, to anoint them with oil, in token of their hope to obtain from God that ease and gladness in their behalf, which is signified by oil. So that anointing with oil having anciently betokened sometimes some singular gift of God, at other times the hope of obtaining the recovery of the sick man, for whom prayer was made, it might well be a very apt and significant emblem of a miraculous cure of the sick; which being both an extraordinary work, and withal the cause of joy and gladness, the use of anointing upon this occasion did in some degree join both its ancient significations together.

But whatever the reason might be of the choice of this ceremony, when the Apostles healed many sick persons: this however is very plain, that they healed them by a miraculous power which their Master had given them. And by comparing what St. Mark says upon this occasion, with St.

* Exod. xiv. 16, 21.

† Exod. xvii. 6.

‡ Mark vii. 33.

§ Luke vii. 14.

|| Grot. in loc.

Matthew and St. Luke, it seems to me, that anointing with oil was not only a rite used by them to signify the miraculous cure, but that this meaning of it was generally understood. My reason is this, because St. Matthew and St. Luke, who make no mention of the ceremony, do expressly affirm the power of healing to be a gift which they had now received from Jesus, and St. Mark, who mentions not the gift, does only express the ceremony which they used in healing. Therefore, because in substance they all deliver the same thing, it should seem that St. Mark sufficiently expressed the miraculous gift by which the Apostles healed the sick, by saying, that they “anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them ;” and by consequence, that the use of this ceremony upon such an occasion, was sufficiently understood to be an indication of a miraculous cure.

What St. Luke reports, we have seen already ; and St. Matthew is no less express, *viz.* that “He gave his twelve disciples power against unclean spirits, to cast them out ; and TO HEAL ALL MANNER OF SICKNESS, AND ALL MANNER OF DISEASE,”* and that he said to them, “ Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils : freely ye have received, freely give ;” *i. e.* the power by which ye are to do these things, is supernatural, and cost you nothing, and you shall take nothing for the use of it. But now St. Mark† mentions no other power in the commission which Jesus gave them, but that over unclean spirits : and yet describing what they did in pursuance of their commission, he says,‡ “They cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them ;” which words being compared with what the other Evangelists say, are to be interpreted in this manner. “ And as for the sick which they healed, that was done no less by a divine and supernatural power, than the casting out of devils ; for they used nothing but the known ceremony, betokening an extraordinary work of God in the cures they wrought, that is, anointing with oil.” And thus those words of St. Mark do plainly enough suppose that power of healing the sick to have been in their commission, though he did not at first express it as the other two Evangelists did.

Finally, it doth not appear that our Saviour enjoined the use of this ceremony, but it is rather probable that he did not,

* Matth. x. 1, 8.

† Mark vi. 7.

‡ Mark vi. 13.

since the Apostles healed many persons without it. And therefore, if one should say, that possibly they took it up of themselves, as a rite very pertinent for them to use upon this occasion, and which would easily be understood by all, I do not see how he could be confuted. Perhaps it may not be unreasonably supposed, that they received some general direction from our Saviour, that in exerting the gift which he had bestowed upon them, they might freely use this honourable ceremony, or some other like signification, that was fit to raise the expectation of a miraculous healing.

Now this being the only place in the New Testament, where anointing with oil is mentioned, besides that of St. James, and it being also plain that the unction in St. Mark referred to the gift of healing, surely the unction spoken of by St. James, must have the same signification; or else it is a place of such obscurity, that it will be very hard to find a sacrament in it, or to make any conclusion whatsoever from it: for in all appearance the very same case is spoken of in both places. The action is the same, *viz.* “anointing with oil;” the persons anointed are in the same circumstances, for in both they are the sick: and the event the same, for in St. Mark they were healed, and in St. James it is expressly said, “The Lord shall raise him up.” What therefore should hinder, but that if anointing were the ceremony of miraculous healing in the one, it should have the same signification in the other? If there were any difficulty in the words of St. James, and it were doubtful to what purpose the unction by him mentioned was applied, one would think the obscurity should wholly disappear before the light that St. Mark offers to clear that text. But that in all appearance the same case should be expressed in both, and yet there should be so vast a difference as the Roman doctrine supposes, is for them to believe, who make the Scriptures good for nothing, till the Church comes to find out a meaning for them.

For this reason some of our adversaries have thought fit to prove their pretended sacrament out of St. Mark, well perceiving, that without drawing him in for a witness to their doctrine, as well as they could, they must be forced to quit St. James too. Thus Maldonate without mincing the matter, asks, “If the sacrament of extreme unction be not here (in St. Mark) where is it?” A question put not without reason I confess; from whence I infer, that here it is not, and therefore it is no where to be found in the Scripture. As for his

other question which he presently adds, “Why is it not here, if it be any where else?” I answer, that if he could have made good proof that he found it any where else, he would never have stretched his confidence so far as to pretend that he found it here.

“In this place,”* says the Jesuit, “we are to deal not only with heretics, who obstinately contend that the sacrament of extreme unction is not here spoken of, but also with certain Catholics, who seem to say almost the same thing, who are nevertheless excusable in great part, since these new heretics had not yet sprung up in their time.” And he was so well satisfied that their sacrament was gone, if St. Mark’s text could not save it, that he plainly said; that to deny this place to be understood of the sacrament of extreme unction, was to make a step towards the taking of it away, either maliciously if he were an heretic that did so, or impudently if he were a Catholic.

He well knew, that the divines of his Church had generally denied the unction which the Apostles used in St. Mark, to be their sacramental unction, and that they had laid the stress of their cause upon St. James; but he saw the inconvenience of it too, that the same unction being indeed spoken of in both places, by giving up one, they in effect yielded both, and so left their sacrament without any testimony of Scripture at all. Thus far therefore his judgment is to be commended, that he chose rather to challenge both places, which might be done with the same confidence and the same pains that would serve to challenge one of them, than to be at the charge of wresting St. James, and afterwards to be at a new expense of pains in making St. Mark and St. James to speak of two different unctions, *i. e.* to shew a difference where in truth there was none to be shewn.

But how does this bold undertaker bring St. Mark’s text to his purpose? Why, he proves that the Apostles did not use oil as a medicine, as if any, either Protestant or Papist, was so weak as to say they did: and then he concludes, that they anointed the sick, not to cure their bodies, so much as their minds by a sacrament; as if that unction must needs be a sacrament, or a medicine. He pretends that it could not be used as a sign of a miraculous cure, because it would have obscured the miracle, and led the spectators into a belief that

* Maldon. Comm. in Evang. Marc. 6.

the cure was wrought by the natural force of the oil. And some other such things he says, which are so intolerably trifling, that I am very well pleased to be excused from giving them any answer, by the confession of the most and best divines of the Roman Church, that the unction in St. Mark was not sacramental, or for the healing of the mind, but the body. For this was not taught by Cajetan only, but by Gregory de Valentia,* and by Bellarmine,† who recites other great authors of the same opinion: and that we may be sure the streams runs on this side, I shall need to do no more than to produce that famous passage in the Council of Trent concerning this matter, which Soave has given us an account of.

We have already observed, that part of the doctrine of the Council concerning extreme unction, was this, that “it was instituted by our Lord Christ as a sacrament of the New Testament truly and properly so called; *INSINUATED* by St. Mark, and published to the faithful by St. James.” “Now,” says the historian, “if any marvel why it is said in the first head of the doctrine, that this ‘sacrament is insinuated by Christ our Lord in St. Mark, and published in St. James,’ though the reason of what goes before, and of that which follows, does require that it should not be said ‘*INSINUATED*,’ but *INSTI-TUTED*, he may know that it was first written so: but a divine having observed ‡ that the Apostles who anointed the sick, of whom St. Mark speaketh, were not priests, because the Church of Rome holdeth, that priesthood was conferred upon them not till the Last Supper, it seemed a contradiction to affirm, that the unction which they gave was a sacrament, and that priests only are ministers of it. Whereunto some who held it to be a sacrament, and at that time instituted by Christ, did answer, that Christ commanding them to administer the unction, made them priests concerning that action only—yet it was thought too dangerous to affirm it absolutely: therefore, instead of the word *institutum*, they put *insinuatum*: which word, what it may signify in such a matter, every one may judge who understandeth what *insinuare* is, and doth apply it to that which the Apostles then did, and to that which was commanded by St. James, and to the determination made by this Council.”

I am far from thinking that divine’s reason against St.

* Tom. 4. Disp. 8. qu. 1.

† De Extr. Unct. cap. 2. Probo igitur, etc. [ut supra, p. 704. col. 2.]

‡ History of the Council of Trent, p. 351. [Lond. 1640.]

Mark's speaking of a sacramental unction, to be the very best that the case affords. However we see, that though the Council had a good mind to build their doctrine upon St. Mark's text, yet they distrusted the foundation, and could not heartily venture upon it, and therefore they durst not say their sacrament was here instituted: but on the other hand they were loath to lose the countenance of a text in a cause wherein they needed it so very much, and therefore they were content to say modestly, that it was insinuated there. A hard case indeed! That the holy Synod should have so little judgment, as to say instituted at first, and so little honesty as to put insinuated afterward instead of instituted: for I think no other account can be given of this, but that themselves would fain insinuate what they durst not say; that the words of St. Mark, did, after a sort, contain an institution of their sacrament, though their shifting plainly shewed that they were convinced to the contrary.

But that place belonging quite to another matter, *i. e.* to the gift of healing; and all reason requiring that St. James's words be interpreted to the same sense with St. Mark's; this alone is enough to overthrow their pretence of proving extreme unction from St. James.

And here it may be observed, that the power of truth has extorted from some or other of our adversaries, the confession of both the premises which infer our conclusion; that unction which St. James prescribes, is the very same with that which is mentioned by St. Mark. For this we have Maldonate, and some few others with him. But St. Mark does not speak of extreme or of sacramental unction. For this we have Bellarmine and a great many more. The conclusion is evident, therefore neither does St. James prescribe any such thing. And thus much for the first way of finding out the use and meaning of this ceremony whereof St. James speaks, *viz.* by comparing him with St. Mark.

SECT. V.

What is meant by the Prayer of Faith, and by having committed sins which shall be forgiven.

THE second way I propounded was, to consider the meaning of that place, where St. James mentions "anointing the sick with oil."

I have already shewn, that those expressions of “saving the sick,” and “the Lord’s raising him up,” cannot without extravagant liberty, be understood of any thing else but the recovery of bodily health; (§. 2.) and I have laid down that interpretation of the whole text which this supposition requires, (§. 3.) and shewn that the unction there spoken of must therefore have been the ceremony of a miraculous cure. Now there are but two passages there, that seem to require any farther illustration, which I shall now consider more particularly, and then leave the reader to give his judgment.

The one is the prayer of faith; the other, “If he has committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.” Now,

1. By the prayer of faith, we must necessarily understand prayer accompanied with a persuasion wrought by the impulse of the Spirit, that God would raise up the sick; not with that faith only which is a persuasion of the general promises of God made to the whole Church; since there is no such absolute promise in the Gospel, that God will grant health to the sick upon our prayer. But St. James affirms, “that the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.” Which makes it plain that the faith here mentioned was the persuasion of the elders, that it was God’s pleasure, that at that time the gift of healing should take place: for, as I said before, prayer grounded upon the belief of the promises of the New Covenant, or upon that faith only which is common to all Christians, cannot warrant the obtaining of health, or of any other temporal blessing in particular.

Nor is this the only place where faith is taken for a persuasion that God will do a miracle. For thus we are to understand it in that saying of St. Paul,* “Though I have all faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.” In which he seems to refer to that saying of our Saviour to his disciples,† “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.” And it is very evident that our Saviour spake of the prayer of such faith as this in that promise to his disciples,‡ “Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it,” i. e. upon their prayer

* 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

† Matth. xvii. 20.

‡ John xiv. 13, 14.

God would glorify himself, and the Gospel of his Son, by the testimony of miracles : for these words are a continuation of the promise made in the foregoing verse ; “ He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these he shall do, because I go unto my Father.” But this is a notion so generally understood, that I need not insist upon it.

Now if the prayer of faith was made for the recovery of the sick man, it stands to reason, that his being anointed with oil should refer to the same matter. For the Apostle lays down this motive to the use of prayer and unction, that “ the prayer of faith shall save the sick ;” and thus these passages go easily and consonantly together : whereas if the extreme unction of the Church of Rome be supposed in this place, the whole must run after this manner, “ Is any man sick ? Let him send for the elders of the Church ; and let them administer to him the sacrament and office of extreme unction, to prepare his soul for its departure out of this life ; for if they know by the Spirit that the gift of healing is now to be exercised, and do thereupon pray for his recovery, he shall not depart out of this life, but the Lord will raise him up.” And who does not see that at this rate the passages of the text are not only incoherent, but inconsistent with one another ?

And now it is easy from hence to answer one of Bellarmine’s principal objections against our sense of this place.* This promise says he, “ the prayer of faith shall save the sick,” &c. is absolute, and therefore its principal relation cannot be to the health of the body. For the sick who were anointed as St. James prescribes, were either always healed, or not always : if always, then none had died in the days of the Apostles, but some very few who neglected St. James’s rule : moreover, bodily health being not always profitable to the soul, is not always obtained from God, though it be prayed for by one that has the gift of healing. They therefore that were anointed, were not always healed ; so that either that absolute promise of St. James is false, which cannot be, or which is most true, it is principally and absolutely to be referred to the soul.” We are agreed then, that the promise upon unction and the prayer of faith is absolute ; but the Cardinal will not have bodily health to be the thing promised ; for then none had

* Bellar. de Extr. Unct. c. 3. Sect. Quarto : Et oratio, &c. [Ut supra, p. 707. col. 2.]

died but those few that neglected to procure unction. Now one would think that this objection were every whit as strong against making the promised effect of unction to be the health of the soul. For thus it would be impossible for any to be damned, but those few that neglected to be anointed: which is very comfortable doctrine indeed to some people, but so false withal, that I believe our adversaries themselves would be ashamed to defend it openly.

But there is no such inconvenience belonging to our interpretation of this place as the Cardinal pretends. I grant that all they were healed, who were anointed as St. James prescribes; but that very few must have died in those days, does by no means follow, unless that be supposed also, which can never be proved, *viz.* That the presbyters without making any difference, were to anoint all the sick in those days. But that they did not anoint all, seems very evident from this, that the unction was to go along with the prayer of faith; but the prayer of faith was not offered for all, and therefore neither were all anointed; for I have already shewn, that by the prayer of faith in that place, we are to understand, asking a miracle in the name of Christ, by the direction of the Spirit; and therefore such prayer was not offered for all indifferently, but for those only whom it pleased God so to restore to their health.

The Cardinal says most truly, "That bodily health being not always profitable to the soul, was not always obtained from God;" but it was rashly done to add, "though it was prayed for by one that had the gift of healing." For those that had the gift of healing, were under the direction of the Divine Spirit, when to shew the miraculous gift of God, and when to forbear; they knew by that supernatural direction, when it was for the glory of God and the good of the Church, or the spiritual advantage of the sick person, that he should recover; and then followed the prayer, accompanied with an assurance of the event, here called the prayer of faith, together with unction, the usual rite of miraculous healing. We have already remembered how our Lord promised to his disciples, "that whatever they should ask in his name, he would do it;" and yet it is not to be thought that they should be able at their own pleasure to do miracles, either for the gratifying of a wanton curiosity, or when the glory of God did not require it; but that they would still be under the impulse and guidance of the Spirit, when to undertake a miraculous operation in the name of the Lord Jesus. Thus before some notable

miracles, it is said of them that they were full of the Holy Ghost, *i. e.* they were raised by a strong suggestion of the Spirit, to the assured expectation of those great things that were presently done. There was not only a Divine power that wrought those things, but there was also a Divine impulse upon the minds of Christ's servants, warranting them to undertake that they should be done. And therefore such wonderful things were not done upon every occasion, when perhaps the wisdom of man would have called for them, but only when it seemed good to the unerring wisdom of God.

Miracles flourished in the Church in the Apostles' days, but yet even then they were under the restraint of the Divine pleasure. St. Peter was once delivered out of prison by a miracle; but St. Paul more than once used his prudence to gain his liberty, and to save himself. In particular, the gift of healing flourished in the Church in those days, and yet St. Paul advised Timothy to drink a little wine for his stomach's sake, and his often infirmities; * yet also he left Trophimus sick at Miletum.†

I say then, that the prayer of faith always prevailed; that when the presbyters anointed the sick with oil, and asked his health in the name of Christ, they were assured of the event; that the sick person was at that time healed, and that the Lord raised him up; but that they asked not this in behalf of the sick, without the guidance of the Divine Spirit, by which they were acted. And therefore Bellarmine might have spared that scruple; that very few believers must have died in the Apostles' days, if the unction and the prayer of faith is to be referred to the recovery of bodily health.

2. That other clause, "If he has committed sins they shall be forgiven him," is a promise made upon supposition of a case, which did not always happen in the use of anointing the sick. Now I am yet to understand why the Apostle should make a supposition of such a special case, as that of the anointed person's having committed sins, if unction was prescribed as a sacrament for the remission of sins? For the supposition taken with the rest of the period, plainly enough implies, a direction to anoint the sick person for whom the prayer of faith was made, whether he had committed sins or not; only "if he had committed sins, they should be forgiven him." Whatever St. James means here by having committed

* 1 Tim. v. 23.

† 2 Tim. iv. 20.

sins, it is yet evident that this was not the case of all that were anointed ; and therefore, whatever is meant also by the forgiveness of sins in this place, neither was this promised to all that were anointed ; which seems to be a shrewd argument that he did not prescribe unction as a sacrament for the remission of sins : especially if it be considered, that the case of all that were anointed was this, that they were sick, and that the promise absolutely made to all that were anointed, was the recovery of their health ; for this shews as clearly on the other side, that St. James's unction was the ceremony of a miraculous cure of the body. Surely if we are to gather the meaning of this rite from the words of the text where it was prescribed, we are rather to refer it to that effect which the Apostle tells us, would certainly and always follow, *viz.* the recovery of health ; than to that which would never follow, but in a special case, *viz.* the forgiveness of sins. And it is certain, that St. James makes the constant effect of his unction to be the recovery of bodily health ; and he assures us, that sometimes the forgiveness of sins would follow. We therefore say, that his unction was properly a rite of the gift of healing, and thus it always signified something. But our adversaries will needs have it, that his unction was a sacrament, and that the proper end of it was remission of sins, and that the recovery of bodily health was a thing by the bye, which fell out now and then, as it might be expedient : *i.e.* they will have the Apostle to promise bodily health, as a thing by the bye, in words that express an absolute promise of it ; and they will have him promise forgiveness of sins to all upon the due use of unction, in words that manifestly suppose, that he promises it but to some only ; and consequently, that he established an unction which would always be a sacrament, and yet sometimes would be no sacrament at all.

I think therefore that I may conclude, for any man to make anointing the sick to be a constant means and sign of that grace which could not take place in many of those who were qualified for unction, and were duly anointed according to the direction of the Apostle, is to make the Apostle talk very vainly, that himself might not seem to do so : and not to make that to be the end and meaning of his unction which took place in all that were anointed, is to make the Apostle mean what we list, and not what his words mean.

If indeed St. James had said, “ Is any sick among you ? Let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray

over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and his sins shall be forgiven him ; and if it be expedient for the good of his soul, the prayer of faith shall also save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up :" had it been thus, I say, I would know if our adversaries would not have exclaimed against us as the most obstinate persons in the world, if we had either denied forgiveness of sins, or affirmed the recovery of bodily health, to be the true and proper end of that unction whereof the Apostle speaks. But now his words are quite otherwise, for, on the other side, the promise of bodily health is absolute, and belongs to all that are anointed ; and that of forgiveness of sins is conditional, and belongs only to those who have committed sins. Let our adversaries therefore judge impartially for once ; and if they do, then I am sure they will reason against their own sense of this place from the Apostle's words as they now stand ; as they would have argued against ours, if they had stood as fairly for them as they do for us.

But to see how any thing will serve for an argument in a desperate case. Bellarmine would make us believe,* that these very words, "And if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him," do so clearly bring the text on their side, that there is no room for evasion. For these words, says he, "expressly refer to the soul, but the gift of healing belongs to the body." A wonderful reason surely ! But must not the Apostle speak of a spiritual effect, which in one case is consequent upon unction of the sick, but it must always be the thing signified and intended by it, and this, though he manifestly supposes that the spiritual effect is not, and plainly tells us what is the constant signification and effect of it ? When men of parts take invincible arguments against their own opinion, and pretend that they are unanswerable proofs for it, what shall a man say to it, but that they labour under invincible prejudice, or something that is a great deal worse ?

It appears already from that passage concerning forgiveness of sins, that the anointing in St. James was properly a rite that referred to the gift of healing : and this will farther appear by considering what must be the sense of those words, "and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."

It may seem strange, that the Apostle should make the anointed person's having committed sins, the matter of a sup-

* Bell. de Extr. Unct. c. 3. Sect. Quinto: Et si in peccatis, &c. [ut supra.]

position, as if some that were to be anointed, had committed no sins at all. But now, because, without all question, neither was the Apostle's supposition vain and idle, nor is it true of any mere man, that he never sinned ; therefore by committing sins, the Apostle did not mean simply and absolutely having sinned ; but with reference to that matter only whereof he was then speaking, *viz.* that bodily sickness which was to be removed by the gift of healing. So that the meaning must necessarily be this, "And if he has committed such sins as it pleased God to punish by visiting him with sickness, they shall be forgiven him." Besides those places where committing and not committing sin, are to be understood with some qualification, such as that,* "He that committeth sin is of the devil. And whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God :" there is one saying of our Saviour, that requires the same interpretation with this passage in St. James.† When "his disciples asked him, saying, Master, Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind ? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents," *i.e.* it was for no sin, either of him or his parents, that he was born blind, but that the works of God should be made manifest in him. In like manner the supposition of the sick man's having committed sins, is to be limited by reference to the case now discoursed of, that is, of his sickness. For whether it came in the ordinary and natural course of things, or whether God sent it for the trial of his patience and submission, the prayer of faith should save the sick ; or if it were inflicted as a punishment, and for his correction, God would release him of the punishment, and raise him up, and his sins should be forgiven.

It is not perhaps unfit to remember in this place, that in the beginning of the Church, it pleased God to inflict bodily diseases upon many Christians that had grievously offended in any kind, and this not only in pursuance of Church censures, but sometimes without them ; which was the case of those in the Church of Corinth, who for their unworthy behaviour at their assemblies for celebrating the holy communion, were visited with God's hand. For, saith St. Paul,‡ "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep ;" *i.e.* many are dead of those sicknesses which God sent to chastise you for that great fault that reigned amongst you, and

* 1 John iii. 8, 9.

† John ix. 2, 3.

‡ 1 Cor. xi. 30.

many of you remain under those sicknesses still, being not yet humbled under the mighty hand of God.* “If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged,” *i.e.* by care to do our duty, we should prevent God’s chastisements ; but if upon neglecting ourselves we are chastened by the Lord,† it is, that “we should not be condemned with the world.” For God did not strike them with sudden death, but with some sudden sickness, and gave them time to repent, to confess their fault, and to satisfy the Church.

Now although it was the congruity of this place to the passage in St. James, concerning the supposition of having committed sins, that led me to interpret the one by the other ; yet upon farther inquiry, I found the notion not to be altogether destitute of antiquity. For venerable Bede, in his notes upon this clause, applies St. Paul’s text to it in this manner.‡ “Many for sins done by the soul, are punished with the sickness, or with the death also of the body. Whence it is, that the Apostle saith to the Corinthians, who were wont to receive the Lord’s body unworthily, for this cause many among you are sick and weak, and many sleep. If therefore the sick are under the guilt of sins, and shall confess them to the presbyters of the Church, and shall make it their business to forsake and amend them, with a perfect heart, they shall be forgiven them.” And then he goes on, shewing, that sins of the greater sort had need to be confessed in order to this end.§ Amalarius also delivers the very same interpretation in the account he gives of the unction of the sick in his days ; as I shall have farther occasion to observe in a more proper place.

So that besides the reason of the thing, we have some authority too, to interpret this place as I have done ; *viz.* that those words, “and if he has committed sins,” are to be referred to such cases as that which St. Paul discourses of ; where the sickness was inflicted for the punishment of some notable and scandalous fault ; not excluding those instances of such punishment for sins secretly committed : but for whatever sin the sickness was sent, it should be forgiven, and God will shew, that he had received the sick person into favour again, by taking off his sickness : for in this case also, the prayer of

* 1 Cor. xi. 31.

† Ver. 32.

‡ Bed. in loc. tom. 5. [p. 693. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

§ De Eccles. Offic. lib. 1. c. 12. tom. 10. B. P. [Max. Biblioth. Par. vol. 14. p. 944. Lugd. 1677.]

faith should save the sick. Thus our Saviour demonstrated the truth of that saying to the man sick of the palsy,* “Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee,” by adding, “Arise, take up thy bed and go unto thy house,” and by that miraculous cure that followed. Thus after he had healed the diseased man at the pool of Bethesda, he said unto him,† “Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee;” plainly intimating, that his infirmity was the punishment of some sin that he had been guilty of, which was now forgiven, because he was made whole, and should be dealt with hereafter, not according to what he had been, but as he should behave himself for the time to come. In like manner, and with like expression, St. James does promise, that upon the prayer of faith, the gift of healing should take place, even where the disease was inflicted for the punishment of sins. Which construction of the place is so natural and agreeable, that I shall pursue the illustration of this passage no longer, but leave the reader to judge of it by what has been said already.

SECT. VI.

That our interpretation of the use of anointing in St. James, and not our adversaries, is favoured by the following passages to the end of his Epistle.

THE third way of inquiry was, to see what light is given to the meaning of St. James's unction, by those following passages that are in connexion with the place under debate.

1. The very next words that follow, are these, “Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.” But whether by praying one for another in this verse, be meant the prayer of faith in the former verse, which referred to the gift of healing, and was accompanied with a persuasion that God would raise up the sick; or only praying that God would raise him up, when they had no absolute persuasion that so it would be; is what I dare not positively say, having no clear reason to determine me one way or other. But in which sense soever the words be taken, as they must be in one of them, they seem to have a very reasonable connection with what went before; and either way

* Matth. ix, 2, 6.

† John v. 14.

this exhortation is to be referred to that special case mentioned just before ; “ and if he has committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.”

If the “ prayer of faith” is here meant (as I think it is) then St. James exhorts the sick person, whom God had visited for his sins, to humble himself and give glory to God, by confessing to the elders those sins which lay upon his conscience ; and likewise intimates, that the gift of healing would not otherwise take place in his case ; and therefore he was first to confess, and then the elders to pray over him. As for anointing with oil, it was enough that the Apostle mentioned that before ; it being a ceremony, which (or some other of like signification) was customarily used in the Church upon healing by a miraculous gift. The main matters are those which he urges here, confession and repentance on the part of the sick man ; and then the prayer of the elders on his behalf, which would certainly prevail for his recovery no less than in any other case, if it was the prayer of faith mentioned before.

But if the prayer here spoken of, were not the prayer proceeding from a persuasion that the sick would be healed, but the ordinary prayer of the faithful one for another, imploring the recovery of the sick person, if it should seem good to God ; then this exhortation may well be conceived to run thus : “ But whether the elders be instructed by the Spirit, that the gift of healing is, in the case last mentioned, to take place, or no ; yet let the sick person confess his faults, and then let the elders pray for him, that he may be healed, which God may be pleased to grant, though not in the way of demonstrating that extraordinary gift of healing, which is so frequently seen in the Church.” And if this be the meaning, no wonder that there is no mention here of anointing with oil, which was a ceremony proper to that gift.

But let the meaning be this or that, we have this advantage from the place, that the effect of confession and prayer here expressed, is no other than that the person might be healed, *i. e.* recover his bodily health ; which is a farther confirmation, that St. James had not before directed to the use of a sacrament for the soul ; but to the use of that gift then flourishing in the Church, which was for the saving of the body ; though that also was designed for the good of souls, as indeed all other miraculous operations were, and all the gifts of God whatsoever. And this is so great an advantage in favour of our

conclusion, concerning the intent of St. James's unction in the former verse, that here also our adversaries do find it necessary to pervert the meaning of those plain words, "that ye may be healed," and to interpret them of the delivering of the soul from sin; as Estius* does in particular, and that upon no other ground, but because "health in the Scriptures is often referred to the soul." But concerning the extravagance of this interpretation, I have spoken already, Sect. 2.

2. It follows: "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much," *i. e.* it availeth sometimes to the producing of strange and sudden effects (as the example of Elias shews, which is immediately added): which is a good argument to back the foregoing exhortation of confessing to one another, and praying for one another, supposing that those prayers of good men are to be understood, which are grounded upon the general promises of God only. But to me it seems more probable, that the prayer of faith is still meant, because of the instance of Elias's prayer, by which the Apostle does presently illustrate his meaning. And to this notion the Greek word,† which we translate "effectual fervent," is very favourable; because it aptly signifies that incitation and impulse of the Holy Spirit, which operates the prayer of faith. But although this sense appears reasonable, I will not stand upon it, if equal reason can be given for another. It will be sufficient to my purpose to observe, that although the prevalency of a good man's prayer is here affirmed in general terms; and though without all question such a man's earnest prayer is very forcible for the obtaining of spiritual benefits, which is the best force they have; yet the case of which he spake just before ("that ye may be healed") limits his meaning of that power of prayer which he speaks of here, to that of producing temporal effects. Which limitation is required no less by that which follows.

3. "Elias was a man subject to like passions as we are, and he prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth by the space of three years and six months. And he prayed again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit." Now that both in the one case and in the other, the prayer of Elias was the prayer of faith, in the sense so often already mentioned, cannot justly be questioned; for as we know from St. James, that he prayed that

* Est in loc. [ut supra, p. 1144.]

† Ἐνεργουμένη δέησις.

it might not rain, and again, that it might rain ; so we know by the history of the Old Testament, that he expressly and absolutely foretold to Ahab, both the one* and the other.† And it is evident, that this is an instance of the power of prayer, to produce temporal effects of a surprising and wonderful nature ; which makes the instance pertinent to what he had been speaking of before. Nor is it incongruous to observe, that as the withholding of rain for so long a time upon Elias's prayer, does in part answer the case of a sinner's being smitten with sickness for his transgression ; so the sending of rain upon the prayer of Elias, does fully answer the case of the sick man's recovery, by means of the prayer of faith.

And now I may appeal to the judicious reader, whether our adversaries making St. James's unction to be a sacrament for the immediate benefit of the soul, does not imply it to be brought in without any coherence or pertinence to those passages which lie about it ; and whether there be not a clearly pertinent connection from one end to the other, supposing it to be mentioned as a ceremony of the gift of healing.

As for their referring all to the soul, that is here said with reference to anointing, it carries indeed a show of piety ; and but a show, unless it were a pious thing to found a doctrine upon a place of Scripture that will not bear it. What they say to this purpose is very true, but it is not the meaning of the text. Their fault is, that they introduce it in the wrong place : but if they would be content to bring it in, where St. James brings it in, they had both kept to the true interpretation of his words, and withal, secured the observation of that most necessary point, that how great temporal blessings soever we receive from God, they are not yet to be compared with our spiritual interests and our concerns in another life.

4. For St. James having finished his discourse concerning the healing of the sick, does immediately close all with this instruction : “ Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him, let him know, that he who converteth the sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.” As if he had said, “ After all, when any Christian does by wicked practice depart from the truth which he professes, and one of his brethren, by charitable admonitions, and by earnest prayers to God for him, brings him into the way of his duty again ; let him

* 1 Kings xviii. 1.

† xvii. 41, &c.

know, that this is an infinitely better work, than to recover the sick, though by the gift of healing, which of itself extendeth no farther than to a temporal benefit. For he that brings a sinner to repentance, is a means to save that man's soul, and shall himself find mercy from God for this charity to his brother, more than if he had wrought never so many miraculous cures upon the bodies of the sick."

And thus I have shewn, that the parallel place in St. Mark, that the text itself, and the context, do all of them lead to one and the same interpretation of St. James's unction, *viz.* that it was a ceremony of the gift of healing : which is sufficient to overthrow all pretence for establishing a sacrament of extreme unction upon the authority of the Scripture.

SECT. VII.

Objections against our Interpretation answered.

WE may now allow our adversaries to please themselves with fancying, that they find all* that belongs to a sacrament in the words of St. James ; so long as it appears, that his unction was a rite of the gift of healing. Nor will any man be in danger of believing, that here is an institution of a rite to be used in all ages of the Church, because as Bellarmine argues, it is said, "Is any sick among you?" From whence he concludes, that it is to continue in the Church as long as sick persons are to be found in it ; for still there must be another thing found in the Church too, *viz.* the supernatural gift of healing the sick, or else the reason of St. James's unction does not continue. And yet if that gift were still continued, the rite of it would be no sacrament neither ; because sacraments do properly, and in their own nature, refer to the soul, and but by accident to the body.

Nothing therefore remains, for the clearing of our interpretation, but to consider those objections against it, which have not yet been answered.

1. It is said,† that if miraculous cures were here intended, St. James had consulted, not only for the sick, but for "the blind also, the deaf and the lame, who need cure, though they

* Hic habemus omnia, &c. Bell. de Extr. Unct. cap. 11. [cap. 2.]
[ut supra, p. 705. col. 1.]

† Bell. de Extr. Unct. cap. 3. Sect. Quod autem, &c. [Ibid. p. 707. col. 1.]

are not in danger of death." To which I answer, that the Greek word,* and their own vulgar Latin too, is of latitude enough to take in all sorts of bodily infirmities. But if there are probable reasons, and particularly the expression in St. Mark,† to restrain the word to sickness, I would gladly know, why St. James must necessarily advise the blind and the lame, because he advises the sick to be anointed with oil in the name of the Lord. St. Paul‡ distinguishes between the gifts of healing, and between the working of miracles : the latter seeming to signify the curing of the blind and the lame, and the raising of the dead, as the former signifies recovering the sick. And what necessity is there, that St. James, when he speaks of one case, must speak of the other too ? Or that he must speak of both or neither ? Why, the one needs cure as well as the other. Well, but what if the Apostle does not speak of all that need cure, but only of some, that is, of the sick ? So that this objection comes to nothing, unless it were an unreasonable thing to give proper advice to those, who by reason of sickness are in some danger of death, which also is a very ordinary case ; though such advice should not be altogether so proper for those few in comparison, who being lame, or blind, need cure indeed, but are not in that danger.

2. It is also objected,§ that if the miraculous gift of healing were here intended, St. James had required the sick to call for those that were endued with that gift, rather than for the elders, since others would serve for this purpose no less than they. To which it is sufficient to say, that if this gift was no less amongst the elders, than amongst lay-Christians, it was reasonably advised to send for the elders, who had the gift which others had, and that authority which others had not, and withal, some degree of knowledge in spiritual things, which was not common to all.

3. It is again objected,|| that if the miraculous gift were here to be understood, oil had not been prescribed, because the power of miracles was exerted freely, and not tied to any such condition as that. *Answ.* We say also, that it was not tied to it, it being certain, that the Apostles healed some without it. But it was a sufficient ground for St. James to direct anointing in this place, that it was the usual rite that went along with the exercise of the gift of healing, as St.

* Ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν νόμῳ ; Infirmitur quis in vobis ?

† Ἡλειφον πολλον̄ς ἀρρώστους.

‡ 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10.

§ Bellar. c. 3. Sect. Secundo : Inducat, &c. [ut supra, p. 707. col. 1.]

|| Ibid. Sect. Tertio : Orent, &c.

Mark's text strongly intimates (§. 4). And because the gift was sometimes exerted without the ceremony, we have reason to think, that St. James does not prescribe the ceremony as a thing necessary, but rather mentions it as a thing customary ; not as that upon which the healing depended, but with which, when it was convenient, it was wont to be graced.

4. We are told,* that since all other directions in this Epistle belong to us, no less than to the faithful in the Apostle's days, therefore this must do so too ; and therefore it is not to be understood of the gift of healing which is of long discontinuance, but of a sacrament that is to continue always in the Church. Which is as much as to say, that because the main design of the Apostolical Epistles was, to inculcate duties to which the Church is equally obliged in all ages, therefore they never laid down any rules peculiar to the state of the Church in their own times, when it flourished with supernatural gifts. Which is so gross a falsehood, that because those of our communion read the Scriptures, they cannot be imposed upon by it.

I know no other objections but what have been answered in some part of the foregoing discourse : unless this be one, that the Fathers of Trent have thought fit to fix an anathema upon all that dissent from them in this point. For how short soever they were in proving their doctrine, yet they have been very careful and particular in cursing those that gainsay it, as these canons will witness for them.

I. "If any one shall say, that extreme unction is not truly and properly a sacrament instituted by our Lord Christ, and published by the blessed Apostle St. James, but only a rite received from the Fathers, or a human invention, let him be anathema."†

II. "If any one shall say, that the sacred unction of the sick, does not confer grace, nor remit sins, nor comfort the sick, but has now ceased, as if heretofore it were only the gift of healing, let him be anathema."

III. "If any one shall say, that the right and usage of extreme unction, which the holy Roman Church observes, is repugnant to the sense of St. James the Apostle, and is therefore to be changed, and may justly, and without sin, be contemned by Christians, let him be anathema."

* Ibid. Sexto ; Omnia alia, &c. [col. 2.]

† Sess 14. [ut supra, p. 826.]

But after all this cursing, if their arguing for extreme unction may be contemned without sin, so may their anathemas too ; and we may comfort ourselves with David's prayer : "Let them curse, but bless Thou."

SECT. VIII.

That St. James's text affords useful Admonitions, though it is far from establishing a Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

ONE of Bellarmine's objections was this, that according to our interpretation of the text in St. James, "it belongs not to us," he meant, that it would be impertinent in us to anoint the sick with oil, because the gift of supernatural healing is hardly to be found. But his expression was a little too large in saying, that these things therefore would not belong to us. For those things may be said to belong to us, from whence we may reap very good instruction, as certainly we may from these. This passage concerning so notable a gift, as that of healing was, is one of those that make up the testimony which God gave to the Christian religion in the early days of the Church, and it belongs to us, to take notice of them all, for the strengthening of our faith. And there are many good instructions besides which this place affords, that will be useful to the world's end. And therefore I shall close this part with representing what they are.

1. "Is any man sick?" He ought to take his sickness as coming from the hand of God, though perhaps not so immediately as sickness was sometimes inflicted upon Christians in the Primitive Church. He should consider with himself, that this is one of the ordinary trials of a man's faith and patience, and that he is therefore exceedingly to blame if he does not bear it as a Christian ought to do. Or he is to reflect, whether it be not for some sin yet unrepented of, that God in his goodness hath thought fit to give him this warning ; that he may make his sickness the beginning of his repentance.

2. As a member of the Church, which is the body of Christ, he is also to send for God's minister in the Church, that he may receive the benefit of his instructions : to which end the best course he can take is, to confess his fault, and to lay open the grief of his mind, since the minister will thereby be better enabled to make such applications to his case, as may be effectual to procure his amendment for the future, and his

comfort at present ; and the sick person be in less danger of letting himself loose to self-flattery and presumption, or of being overwhelmed with too much grief. It is not to be thought that the elders were sent for in the Primitive Church, merely for the gift of healing, for that did not always take place, but for the benefit also of spiritual instruction and consolation, which always did.

3. As a means for the recovery of his health, the sick person is to desire the prayers of the minister. For though we cannot with any modesty pretend to the prayer of faith here mentioned, that is, of a certain persuasion, that the person for whom we pray shall be raised up ; yet we ought to pray in this faith, that it is pleasing to God when we express our dependence upon him* by asking those things which we need ; that every good thing comes from him, and therefore health and deliverance from death ; and though he does not always give that particular thing which we ask, yet it is sometimes denied because we do not ask ; and that as he never gives the greatest blessings of all, which are those of a good mind, but in answer to prayers ; so sometimes he does not send bodily good things, because he is not prayed to for them : finally, That there is no less reason for prayer when God raiseth up the sick, by blessing ordinary means, than when it was done by a supernatural gift.

The discontinuance of the gift of healing has not so altered the case, but that God as truly forgives the sins of the penitent sick man, in restoring him to health now, as he did then when a miracle was seen in the recovery ; and the prayers of the elders of the Church are now to be desired for the one, no less than they were heretofore for the other ; especially since even in those times they did not always pray one for another, with assurance to obtain the thing they asked, and the event was to declare, whether God saw it expedient to grant their requests. But,

4. In this case men are not to do according to the common custom, of not calling for the priest till there is little or no hope of life left, and when his prayers for the recovery of the patient are almost insignificant, as it would be to anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord, when he is drawing on to the last gasp, and nothing indeed but a miracle can raise him up. The Apostle does not say, “ Is any man sick unto death ?” but,

* Phil. iv 6.

“is any man sick?” Which seems to imply an advice to call for the elders of the Church, before the disease was grown desperate, according to the natural course of things, and not to trust to be cured by a miracle at last, when it was apparent that nothing but a miracle could do it. It is now much more requisite that the priest should be called for, when the danger first begins to appear, because miracles are ceased. And as for them that try the physician till he gives them over, and never till then seek the prayers of the Church, they have but little reason to hope for help from God, to whom they have no recourse till they are driven by the last extremity. For they shew, that if they could have had relief without him, they cared not to be beholden to him for it. In which ease it is just with God, to suffer the sickness to be mortal, which perhaps had not been so, if applications had been made to him with the first, by calling for the elders, by confessing their sins, by promising repentance, and by prayers for good things requisite, as well for the body as the soul.

Such admonitions as these we may gather from this place of Scripture; though we do neither suppose it pertinent to anoint sick persons with oil, as they did in the Apostolical times, unless we had the gift of healing, which flourished in those times; nor account it any part of our duty to anoint dying persons with oil, as they now do in the Church of Rome, unless we believed what they say they believe, that it was a sacrament instituted by Christ, insinuated by St. Mark, and published by St. James, to confer grace and take away sins. ¶

But it has been shewn, that they give us no manner of good reason to believe any such thing, either out of St. Mark, or St. James; but that there is very good reason to believe the contrary from both of those authorities. And so much for their pretended arguments out of Scripture.

PART II.

THAT IT IS A LATE INNOVATION, AND HAS NO GROUND IN ANTIQUITY.

SECT. I.

What anointings were used in the ancient Church.

SINCE there are no sacraments properly so called, but those the institution whereof is delivered to us in the holy Scriptures;

we need not be solicitous concerning the testimony of the ancient Church, after the age of the Apostles: not so much, at least, for the sake of truth, as for the honour of the ancient Christians, from whom our adversaries pretend to have received this their sacrament of extreme unction. But if any there be who conceive the truth not to be so evident, but that it will bear an addition of light and strength from ancient testimony, we are far from envying them this means of satisfaction.

Whereas, therefore,* Bellarmine appeals to the tradition of the ancients; I make no question but it will appear, that this pretended sacrament was unknown to the Church for above a thousand years; that his instances to the contrary are far from being proofs, and that some of them, in which he places his greatest confidence, are against him.

But for more clear proceeding; in the first place we make no difficulty to grant, that there were several anointings used in the ancient Church, and those too as for many religious rites: but withal we say, that the unction of the sick, now in fashion amongst the pretended Catholics, was none of them.

Anciently they anointed the catechumens† that were ready for baptism, and this with simple oil; and after baptism they anointed them with chrism,‡ or a compounded oil, which custom was very plentifully attested by ecclesiastical writers, as every one knows, that is in any degree conversant with them. Some plain testimonies to this purpose, I have referred to in the margin; and that because I shall ere long have occasion to remember, that this usage, though it was the matter of no divine precept, was frequently remembered by the ancients.

They also anointed§ those who had been baptized by heretics, when they came over to the communion of the catholics; and this with holy ointment.

Such unctions as these were all of them far enough from this anointing mystery of the Roman Church, because they were not so much as unctions of the sick.

* De Extr. Unct. cap. 4. [ut supra, p. 709, 710.]

† Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 16. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 1. p. 321. Lut. Par. 1671.] lib. 7. c. 42, 44. [Ibid. p. 448, 449.]

‡ Tertull. de Bapt. c. 10. Cypr. Ep. 70. [p. 190.] Oxon. [1682.] Syn. Arausic. l. Can. 2. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 3. p. 1447.] Resp. ad Orthod. Qu. 137. [p. 501. Par. 1742.] Hieron. tom. 4. Com. in Lam. c. 11. Dionys. Areop. de Eccl. Hier. c. 7. sect. 8. [vol. 1. p. 270. Venet. 1755.] Vide etiam Cotelerii notas in Patr. Apost. p. 214.

§ Resp. ad. Orthod. Qu. 14. in Just. M. [ut supra, p. 446.]

And yet I grant, that in the ancient Church they did sometimes anoint the sick and infirm also. But then the instances of that unction are by no means favourable to the pretended sacrament of extreme unction ; because, although they were sick persons who were anointed, yet it was not a sacramental unction to prepare the sick for their passage out of this world, but a rite of the gift of healing ; the gift of healing, I say, which it pleased God to continue in the Church for some ages after the Apostles.

Thus Tertullian tells us,* “ that Proculus a Christian, the procurator of one Euhoida,† was kindly entertained by Severus the emperor to the day of his death, because he had once cured him with oil.”‡ St. Jerome also reports, that many husbandmen and shepherds, stung with serpents and venomous beasts, ran to Hilarion, and were cured with holy oil : and that the same Hilarion saved the lives of Constantia’s son-in-law, and her daughter, by anointing them with oil. The like is affirmed by Sulpitius Severus,§ of Martin bishop of Tours, that he cured a paralytic maid by earnest prayer and by oil. And St. Austin|| speaks of a maid of Hippo, that was dispossessed of a devil, by the prayers of a presbyter, and by anointing herself with oil, into which he had let fall his tears. Several instances of this kind are to be met with in Rosweid,¶ which I pass over to avoid tediousness. I shall only add, that the seventh age was not without the gift of healing, and that the use of unction which referred to it, was till then continued, as appears by what Bede** reports of Cuthbert bishop of Fern Isle, who died when Bede was about twenty years old. He tells us†† of a holy woman that was vexed with an intolerable pain in her head, and in one of her sides, whom Cuthbert, after the physicians had given her over, anointed with holy oil ; that from that time she mended, and in a few days was perfectly well.

Now it must be granted, that so long as the supernatural gift

* Ad Scapulam, cap. 4. [p. 71. Par. 1695.] † Euodus.

‡ De Vitâ Hilarionis, tom. 1. p. 9. Colon. [vol. 2. p. 32, 39. Veron. 1735.]

§ Vit. Mart. c. 15. [Biblioth. Patr. vol. 8. p. 396. Venet. 1772.]

|| De Civit. D. lib. 22. c. 8. [vol. 7. p. 667. Par. 1685.]

¶ Vitæ Patrum, p. 211, 343, 451, &c. [Antv. 1615.]

** Vitæ Cuthb. c. 30.

†† Vide Dallæum de Extr. Unctione, p. 85, 86, 87. [Genev. 1659.] et Baron. A. C. 63. n. 4. [n. 16. vol. 1. p. 595. col. 1. Luc. 1738.]

of healing lasted, there was as much reason to use the common ceremony of such healing as there was at first. And as we confess this practice of anointing the sick, to have been frequent in the first ages of the Church, so we grant it to have been an Apostolical tradition. For we find it agreeing with the practice of the Apostles in St. Mark, and with the custom of the primitive presbyters in St. James. But then although this was the unction of the sick, yet it was not extreme unction, nor the sacrament of the dying. For the direct end for which it was administered, was, that those who were anointed might not die, but recover their health by the supernatural gift of God. And, as I shall shew presently, this practice proves antiquity to be as much against the Roman sacrament, as St. Mark and St. James shew the Scripture to be so.

In the mean time I must observe, that there was yet another unction in the ancient Church, which seems to me to have been no otherwise a religious rite, than that it becomes Christians especially, who believe the resurrection of the body, to inter their dead decently and honourably; for it seems they anointed the dead. So Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us. Nor was this to be wondered at in particular, since the Jews had used this rite before, and the Christians were remarkable for this, that they spared no cost to adorn the funerals of those who died in the Lord, as Tertullian† told the heathens. The counterfeit Dionysius‡ speaks of it as of a general practice; he tells us, how the priest having received the dead body from the nearest relations, does all holy rites that are customary about those that die in the Lord; that at length he salutes him that is dead, and that after him the rest do so too; that then he pours oil upon him, and after prayers for all, that the body is buried. But this I think makes nothing at all for the Roman sacrament, though we should take in that signification or instruction by which the last named writer made this unction of the dead a kind of a mystery.§ “Remember,” says he, “in the holy regeneration by which one is born of God, that before the divine baptism, the first participation of that holy rite, *viz.* the anointing with oil, is given to him that is initiated, after he has quite put off his former garment. But now at the end of all, he that is departed this life is anointed

* Pædag. l. 11. c. 8. p. 176. Par. [p. 205. Venet. 1757.]

† Apolog. c. 42. [ut supra, p. 34.]

‡ De Hier. Eccles. cap. 7. [ut supra.]

§ Ibid. sect. 8.

with oil. Then indeed (before baptism) the anointing with oil called forth him that was initiated to a holy warfare ; but now (that he is dead) the oil that is poured upon him shews him that is departed out of this life, to have fought in this warfare to the end.”

Now I grant this to be extreme unction ; but then it is neither the unction of the dying, nor of the sick, but of the dead. And if the pretended Catholics will conform to the custom of the Church in this writer’s time, their unction will not be so much as extreme unction, because this is to come after it ; and Bellarmine’s reason why their unction is called extreme, because it is the last of all unctions, will be quite out of doors, since the unction of the dead, and not of the dying, must be last of all.

It is true, that this Dionysius mentions one unction before death ; but it is as wide from the business of the Roman sacrament, as that after it ; for the Roman sacrament is administered only to baptized persons ; but the unction he speaks of, which goes before death, goes before baptism too, and is that which we have spoken of already.

So much for the ancient unctions of the Church, what they were : and that they do not make for our adversaries. Let us consider a little, whether some of them do not favour us.

SECT. II.

That the Unction of the Sick in the ancient Church, confirms our interpretation of St. Mark and St. James.

THE first which I shall resume, is the ancient practice of anointing the sick in the ages next after the Apostles, which seems to be a good evidence of the truth of that interpretation of St. James, which makes his unction of the sick, a rite of miraculous healing. For this practice does of itself shew, that in all probability the ancient Christians thus understood it ; because they applied unction to the sick in order to the recovery of their health by supernatural means. For theforesaid cures are all of them related as miraculous cures.

And therefore Chemnitius had reason to say “That the progress of this unction clearly shews it to be no sacrament. For, first,” says he, “the Apostles anointed the sick with common oil to heal them ; then others began to add benediction, and to consecrate the oil ; but yet they used it to the

same end, for which the Apostles used it before, *viz.* to cure the sick miraculously, as it appears by the miracles said to be done with holy oil, by St. Martin and many others," &c. But when at length miracles were quite ceased, the ceremony of anointing still went on. In short, he makes the sacrament of extreme unction to have grown from the continuance of the rite, after the reason of it was at an end, and miraculous cures were no longer done. For which conclusion we shall see a great deal of reason hereafter. But in the mean time we will consider Bellarmine's notable conjecture on the other side, concerning the miraculous cures that were done with oil. "But," says he, "that the ceremony of anointing the sick, in the way of a sacrament, arose out of that unction which operated in the way of a miracle, Chemnitius proves no otherwise than that himself so thinks. But we on the contrary do conjecture, that this progress of oil came about another way; that is to say, because in the sacrament of extreme unction, it often happened, that people were healed; some holy men began upon that occasion to use oil out of the sacrament; not that oil which was blessed by the bishop, in order to a sacrament; but oil sanctified by themselves simply with the sign of the cross, to heal diseases."* Thus the Cardinal argues.

Now if this conjecture be a good one, then by his own confession, those frequent relations which we meet with in the ancients, of miraculous cures by oil, do acquaint us with an unction very different from Bellarmine's sacramental unction; as of necessity it must be, if the sacramental unction was the mother of that. And by consequence, unless they can produce other testimonies from antiquity for their sacrament, they must not think to find it in the instances of those that were miraculously healed by oil, since these are not instances of extreme unction; nor will any man say they are, unless he be furnished with as bold a face as Fevardentius† had, who without any scruple, makes Hilarion's unctions to be extreme, and the miracles reported to follow thereupon, to be the effects of extreme unction; and like an honest man tells us, that St. Jerome says so.

But for Bellarmine's conjecture itself, which he opposes to that of Chemnitius, it is no better than excess of confidence

* De Extr. Unct. cap. 6. sect. Quod vero, &c. [vol. 3. p. 711. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

† Not. in Iren. lib. 1. c. 18. [Apud Irenæum. par. 2. p. 218. col. 1. Venet. 1734.]

opposed to plain reason. For this was Chemnitius's ground, that all the unction of the sick, which we meet with in the ancients, was for bodily cures ; and that extreme unction was never heard of till of late ; which if it be true, makes it highly reasonable to conclude, that extreme unction grew out of the miraculous one, and very absurd to say, that this grew from that, unless we could fancy the daughter to be born before the mother.

As for the like case which Bellarmine produces in favour of his conjecture, I can hardly grant him what he seems to allow to Chemnitius, that he thought himself to be in the right. "After this manner," says he,* "we see it was done in water ; because in baptism men were sometimes healed of their bodily infirmities, as Augustine testifies, and gives some examples of the same : from thence many began to use water, blessed out of baptism, for the cure of diseases."

Now indeed if there had been as frequent and as early mention of this extreme unction in the writings of the ancient Church, as there is of baptism ; and if the instances of cures by unction had been as rare as those of healing by baptismal water, the instance had been very laudable, and one case would have given light to the other : but since neither the one nor the other is true, nothing could have been less to the purpose.

Of baptism, there is no dispute, whether the Church, from the first, held it a sacrament. Holy water out of baptism came in long after ; and it is therefore very reasonable to judge, that it might grow out of the sacrament of baptism, although the bodily cures, wrought by baptismal water, were but rarely heard of. But now of cures wrought by unction, there is plain testimony in the Scriptures themselves, and frequent mention† in ecclesiastical writers for several ages ; and we say, that of this pretended sacramental unction there was no mention, no, not so much as any intimation, for several ages ; whilst bodily cures by oil went on abundantly. And therefore there is as much reason to derive the pretended sacrament of unction from the miraculous unction, as to derive the use of holy water from the water of baptism ; because as baptism was before the one, so the miraculous unction was, and that too for a much longer time, before the other.

So that the Cardinal's illustration does him no manner of

* Ibid. [p. 712. col. 1.]

† Spond. A. C. 63. N. 4. [Epit. Annal. Baronii, p. 103. Mogunt. 1618.]

service, but is as fit for our purpose as any that could be readily thought of. For there is no more dispute between the Church of Rome and us, whether the ancients frequently mention that unction that was applied for bodily cures, than whether they took notice of the sacrament of baptism one age after another, and this from the very first. But that they expressed any the least regard to such an unction as the Roman sacrament is, we utterly deny. And therefore for the same reason, that water blessed for bodily cures, sprang from the water of baptism, which is a sacrament; for the same reason, I say, we may conclude, that extreme unction, which is pretended to be a sacrament, but is none, sprang from the unction which was for bodily cures, and which was not pretended to be a sacrament.

But the main point to be observed in this place, is, that if in the ancient Church they still anointed the sick in order to a miraculous cure, and never applied unction as a sacrament to prepare the soul for its conflict with death, and to purge away the relics of sin; this is little less than a demonstration, that they did not understand St. James, as speaking of sacramental, or extreme unction, but of that unction which was to restore health to the body.

I shall therefore proceed to shew, that antiquity was wholly a stranger to the Roman mystery of anointing the sick; and the first thing I shall attempt to this purpose, is to answer those few testimonies which our adversaries pretend to have on their side.

SECT. III.

That Extreme Unction has not the testimony of any ancient Pope.

THE Cardinal undertakes to prove the sacrament in question, by the testimonies of Popes, Councils, Fathers, and other authors. His Popes are Innocent I. and Innocent III. and no more. Certainly he does not begin as if he would do wonders out of antiquity, when in the compass of twelve hundred years he could produce but two Popes for one of his sacraments. For Innocent III. lived in the beginning of the thirteenth century. And therefore how clearly soever he may attest this new Roman sacrament, it was not so learnedly done to bring his testimony under that head of the tradition of the ancients;*

* Ubi supra, c. 4. [p. 709, 710.]

nor so wisely neither, because though he were so late a Pope, yet his testimony is but a scurvy one, and fitter to be mentioned in general, as the Cardinal mentions it, than to be produced as I shall do in its place. But perhaps Innocent I. will make amends for all; so Bellarmine indeed was pleased to say of his testimony, "that it ought to suffice if there were none besides it; since he was an ancient author, and began to take the chair in the year 402. And he was a man learned, and holy, and wonderfully commended by Austin, Jerome, and Chrysostom. The epistle cited is certainly his: he says expressly and clearly, that this unction is a sacrament explained by St. James, and is therefore not to be given to those who are not capable of other sacraments, &c. Nor did ever any of the ancients reprove him for teaching that the unction of the sick is a sacrament." Here now is an authority brought out with no little circumstance, as if it were able to do the business alone: and to make it look more considerably, we are told, that "all Catholics produce it;" and that "Chemnitius durst not so much as name it." But I rather guess, that if Chemnitius had it before him, he did not think it worth his while to answer it.

For my own part, if this place of Innocent I. were as clear and full for extreme unction, as it seems all Catholics take it to be, I should not be afraid to reject his authority as insufficient, since in the same epistle he affirms most notorious and silly falsehoods; for* instance, that "in all Italy, France, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the interjacent islands, no churches were founded but by priests that were ordained by St. Peter, or his successors, and that no Apostle preached in these provinces but he;" and this, he says, is manifest. He also makes it an ecclesiastical tradition,† and demonstrable by most evident reason, that Christians were to fast upon Saturdays; and he makes those to be mad that did otherwise: whereas it was notorious, that the Eastern and African Churches did not fast upon those days, no, nor all Italy neither; for St. Ambrose and his Church of Milan did it not. Now what a man says, whilst he is in the humour of venting such things as these, had need, either of good reason, or some better authority than his own to make it pass. For these reasons some learned men, in pure respect to the memory of Innocentius,

* Innoc. Ep. 1. in Praefat. [Cigheri Cath. Eccles. Dogm. Verit. vol. 4. p. 176.]

† Ibid. n. 4. [p. 177.]

conclude his first epistle to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium, to be none of his; which is all the answer that Chamier* gives to that testimony for extreme unction, which Bellarmine produces out of it. But Mr. Daille† has brought together so many, and so likely authorities to prove it a genuine epistle of Innocent, that they seem to weigh more on the one side, than the extravagances of the epistle do on the other.

But by whomsoever it was written, and if all the rest of it were as true as Gospel, sure I am, that in the intended passage there is nothing at all for the Roman sacrament of extreme unction; as any indifferent man may see by the passage itself, which the Cardinal was wise enough not to produce as it is in the epistle. In answer to some questions concerning anointing, as to which Decentius thought those words of St. James, "Is any man sick," &c. were fit to be considered; Innocentius, whom he consulted about it, makes this return:‡ "That the text, no doubt, is to be understood of the faithful that are sick; who may be anointed with the holy oil of chrism, which being made by the bishop, it is lawful, not only for priests, but for all Christians to use it, by anointing in their own need, or in the need of any of their friends. But for what is added, it is a needless doubt, whether a bishop may do that which is undoubtedly lawful for presbyters. For presbyters are therefore mentioned, because bishops being hindered by other employments, cannot go about to all sick persons. But if the bishop can, or thinks fit to visit any one, he that made the chrism itself, may without all scruple, bless and anoint with it. But the chrism is not to be given to penitents, because it is a kind of a sacrament: for how can one kind of a sacrament be allowed to those to whom the rest are denied?"

* Panstr. De Sacr. N. T. lib. 4. c. 21. [vol. 4. p. 209. col. 1. Genev. 1626.] † De Extr. Unct. p. 99.

‡ Quod non est dubium de fidelibus ægrotantibus accipi vel intelligi debere, qui sancto oleo chrismatis perungi possunt, quo ab episcopo confecto, non solum sacerdotibus, sed omnibus uti Christianis licet in sua aut suorum necessitate inungendo. Cæterum illud superfluum videmus adjectum, ut de episcopo ambigatur quod presbyteris licere non dubium est. Nam idcirco de presbyteris dictum est, quia episcopi occupationibus aliis impediti ad omnes languidos ire non possunt. Cæterum si episcopus aut potest aut dignum ducit aliquem a se visitandum, et benedicere, et tangere Chrismate sine cunctatione potest, cuius est ipsum Chrisma confidere. Pœnitentibus autem istud infundi non potest, quia genus est sacramenti. Nam quibus reliqua sacraenta negantur, quomodo unum genus putatur posse concedi? Innoc. Ep. 1. n. 8. [ut supra, p. 179.]

Now here indeed is a resolution of some questions concerning unction of the sick ; but to fancy, that what the Church of Rome calls the sacrament of extreme unction, was the subject of this place, is so wild an imagination, that although “ all the Catholics” have entertained it, I cannot but wonder how it should enter into any wise man’s head. For it is in effect to say, that although this unction was a sacrament published by St. James, and had been applied to the sick constantly for above three hundred years, yet there was a certain bishop well esteemed by his Holiness, who was so uncatechized, that he neither knew who might receive this sacrament, nor who might give it. I acknowledge, that if this be Innocent’s epistle, I have made a little bold with him upon the account of his gross mistakes in it. But Bellarmine and the rest of his Catholics represent him ten times worse ; and in plain terms they abuse him. And therefore here I must be the Pope’s advocate, and do him so much right, as to say, that if the Bishop of Eugubium had been so stupidly ignorant, who were to receive extreme unction, and who were to apply it, yet at least the Bishop of Rome, whom he consulted in the case, would have wondered at it a little, instead of giving him such cool and formal answers, as if Decentius had started some new difficulties, which before his time there was no occasion to inquire about : unless they will make Pope Innocent as ignorant as the Bishop of Eugubium must be supposed to be. But though the Pope was so egregiously mistaken in the history of the propagation of the Gospel over the western and some of the southern parts of the world, and in the discipline of the Church concerning fasting-days ; yet that he should be ignorant too of the use of one of the proper sacraments of the Church, till Decentius gave him occasion to inform himself better, is an imputation no less incredible in itself, than reproachful to him. This ought not by any means to be believed of a “ learned man, and a holy,” and one “ wonderfully commended by Austin, Jerome, and Chrysostom.”

Bellarmino indeed would persuade us, that the Bishop inquired only,* “ Whether a bishop might give the sacrament of extreme unction, or a presbyter only.” A very fine question for a bishop to send to Rome, if that were all : but, by his leave, Decentius asked more questions than so, or else the Pope ran out in his answer very impertinently ; and that he inquired

* Ubi supra. Sect. Ex hoc etiam. [p. 709. col. 1.]

something farther, is very evident from his own words, who coming to that point, says,* “But for what is added, your doubt is needless,” &c. which manifestly implies, that there were other doubts; to which that was added concerning the power of a bishop to anoint, &c. as indeed there was one or two before it, and another after it. So that they make this intercourse between Decentius and Innocentius, to be just as if one of the bishops of the Roman communion should write to the present Pope, to know whether extreme unction might be given to the faithful in their sickness, whether they might anoint themselves, whether a bishop might anoint them, and (as I shall presently shew the case to be the same) whether excommunicated persons, in no danger of death, might be anointed as well as the rest; and the Pope should make such an answer as Innocent did. For if extreme unction was then understood and practised in the Church, as it is now in the Church of Rome, those two ancient bishops were altogether as ridiculous, as his Holiness and some other bishop now would be upon such a supposition.

So that extreme unction cannot be meant in this place; and (which makes this pretended testimony for it come off very miserably) we need not desire a better argument, than in those days the Church knew nothing at all of the now Roman doctrine or practice of that unction: for if it was then as it is now, these two ancients talked of the matter before them like a couple of ideots, and were so far from deserving to be bishops, that they were not worthy to be accounted novices in Christianity; which will more fully appear by a brief account of the Pope’s resolutions, and the questions which they suppose the bishop to have sent.

We have already seen, that the pretended sacrament of unction, cannot be the subject of the discourse in that epistle; and the reasons already offered make it necessary to suppose, that it was some new thing that had not been formerly thought of in the Church. Nor do we need to go far for a key to unlock this mystery, since the place itself affords one, which is this, that the inquiries of Decentius, and the Pope’s answers, went all upon the oil of chrism, which oil (by the way) is not the matter of the late sacrament of unction; it being compounded oil that was kept in the Church for anointing, not the

* Cæterum illud superfluum videmus adjectum, ut de episcopo ambigatur, &c. [Cigher. Ibid.]

sick, but those that were in health, that is to say, newly baptized persons, and such as were made bishops and priests.* This sort of unction we have already seen to have been practised in the ancient Church. And it is the oil for such purposes, concerning which Decentius inquired, whether and how it might be administered to the sick, that is, applied to a new purpose for which the Church never used it before. As to the occasion upon which he made this inquiry, possibly if we had his letter, we should find it mentioned there. But since we have it not, we can but guess ; and I believe it will be a hard matter to mend Mr. Daille's conjecture,† which is this : “It is very likely, that some who observed that diseases were by several miraculously cured, and this by applying oil, and had read in St. James those words, ‘Is any one sick,’ &c. being sick themselves, desired of Decentius, that they might be anointed with the chrism, which they knew to be in the Church, not knowing but by this means they might be healed ; and thereupon that Decentius inquired of Innocentius, what was in this case fit to be done.”

To which it may not be unfit to add, that as the gift of healing continued hitherto in the Church, so neither had all presbyters that gift, nor only they ; nor was it exerted at the pleasure of those that had it ; and therefore since the right of anointing the sick with oil, went along with the use of the gift, neither could the sick expect to be anointed upon their desire, either by the presbyters that had not the gift, or by those, or any others, that had it. Which I say, to prevent that objection against Mr. Daille's conjecture ; that probably the sick would rather have desired the priests to anoint them with oil, or some others that had the gift of healing, so to do, than to be anointed with chrism : for there is no ground for this at all, unless it had been part of the priestly office to anoint the sick, as it is now in the Roman communion ; or unless they that had the gift of healing by oil, could have exerted it when they pleased. And therefore it is reasonable to say, That as it is the manner of people in distress to try every way they happen to think of, which flatters them into hope of success ; so those sick persons who could not demand that unction which accompanied the supernatural gift of healing, yet at least desired to try what might be done by the use of the holy chrism, that was reserved in the Church for other purposes, not knowing but that the

* Vide Sect. 1.

† De Extr. Unct. p. 100.

effect promised in St. James to the prayer of faith, might follow it.

But whatever the occasion was, the use of chrism to a new purpose, was the subject of the inquiry ; and the ground upon which Decentius went, was, that the text was to be understood of the faithful that were sick, as Innocent acknowledged ; and hereupon, as it should seem by the answers of the latter, the questions of the former were these four :

1. “ Whether the faithful that were sick, might be anointed with chrism ? ” To which the Pope answered, “ that they might.” Now if by chrism, was meant what they call the sacrament of extreme unction, and what they suppose was acknowledged by both of them, and by the whole Church in those days, it was a very senseless question, and as senseless an answer ; and it might as well have been asked by the one, whether the faithful may receive the eucharist, and say their prayers, and do what is their duty to do ? And as gravely answered by the other, that they might. But there is some sense in it, if we understand the question of the applying of that chrism to the sick, which was hitherto used in the Church for other purposes.

2. “ Whether the sick might in their need anoint themselves with it.” To which the Pope answered, “ that they might ;” for, says he, “ not only priests, but all Christians may lawfully use in their own need, or in theirs who belong to them, the oil of chrism prepared by the bishop, and anoint with it.” Now if this was meant of extreme unction, it argued great stupidity in Decentius, to inquire whether lay Christians might administer a sacrament to themselves and to others, which it was lawful for none to administer, but a presbyter at least, as we are told by the Council of Trent : and in the Pope it was unpardonable ignorance to determine this question the wrong way, by allowing that all Christians might use this sacrament, by anointing themselves or their friends with it. But if we understand the use of chrism in order to healing, there was some reason for this question, since on the one side the ordinary use of chrism was applied only by persons in orders ; on the other side it was known that such as were not in orders, had with success applied oil to the cure of the sick ; so that there was an appearance of reason on both sides to move Decentius to ask, whether if the faithful might be anointed with chrism in their sickness, the laity might anoint themselves and others with it, as the laity that had the gift of healing, anointed with oil ? Or whether they must leave it to the priest, because it

was chrism? And Innocent, in my opinion, answered very well, that he knew nothing to the contrary, but they might do it themselves.

3. "If they might not anoint themselves with it, it being clear from St. James, that presbyters had power to anoint the sick, whether bishops were included or not?" Now this seems to me to be no over wise question, let the supposition upon which it is asked be what it will. But if extreme unction went then in the Church, as it does now in the Roman communion, the question was exceedingly foolish; for we are told, that the ministers of this sacrament are bishops, or priests rightly ordained by bishops.* And, to set that aside; who can imagine that a bishop should doubt, whether a bishop had power to administer one of the sacraments of Christ's institution? But though it is hard to say what came into his head to move this question about the bishop's power to anoint the sick with chrism, yet the whole business being new, and he believing that it was to be governed by the text of St. James, it was nothing near so extravagant a question, as it had been upon the supposition of extreme unction: though indeed it was something odd if we take it as it is; and therefore the Pope gave him a gentle gird for it, in these words: "but for what is added, it is a needless doubt, whether a bishop may do that which is undoubtedly lawful for presbyters?"

4. "Whether the chrism might be given to penitents in their sickness?" Now if chrism had been the extreme unction of the Roman Church, it is not imaginable that Decentius should have asked such a question as this. For if by the sick to be anointed, he had meant only the dying, there had been no room for that question, whether sick, *i. e.* dying penitents might be anointed, it being a notorious custom of the Church† in those days, to communicate those that were admitted to penance, if they were in evident danger of death. But it is evident, that both Decentius and Innocentius spake of all that were visited with sickness, though in appearance the sickness were not mortal, (for Innocentius speaks simply of the sick, and says, that the bishop cannot visit all the sick, and the like). And the question thus taken, *viz.* whether all sick penitents might be anointed, was a very ignorant question, if he meant extreme unction, and that because it was notorious that they

* Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. cap. 3. [Labbe, Concil. ut supra. vol. 14. p. 822.]

† Innoc. Ep. 3. n. 2. [Ep. 1. n. 7. ut supra, p. 178.]

who were in the state of penitents, were denied all manner of sacraments (unless in the article of death), as Innocent observed in his answer to this question.

If it be objected, that Decentius bewrayed as much ignorance, if he put this question concerning the unction of the sick penitents with proper chrism, since Innocentius answering in the negative, thought fit to give this reason for his answer, "that all sacraments were denied to penitents." I answer, that there was a reasonable ground upon which Decentius might move such a question; for though chrism was esteemed a kind of sacrament, yet whether it might not be applied for the recovery of their bodily health, to whom sacraments were yet denied, was a doubt which a wise man might make. For since the sick in that place desired to try the success of being anointed with chrism, in order to the same effect that they knew anointing with oil, by those that had the gift of healing, produced upon sick persons; it might be thought that the use of chrism, just now started, might be exempted from the common rule, especially because there were instances of some cured by oil* that were not so much as Christians. And though Innocent concluded in the negative, yet the question would have borne a dispute in behalf of the penitents, if upon trial of the virtue of holy chrism to cure the sick, the matter had been found to deserve it.

And here we are come to the place upon which Bellarmine triumphs, as if Innocentius's testimony alone would do the business. "He says expressly and clearly," says the Cardinal, "that this unction is a sacrament explained by St. James, and therefore not to be given to those who are not capable of other sacraments, &c." What a small matter will serve the turn, where there is a good will, but no matter of good reason for the conclusion! That this unction is a sacrament? What unction I pray? Not Bellarmine's extreme unction; for of that he speaks not a word; and as I have abundantly shewn, Innocentius cannot be understood as speaking of that by any man that has a grain of sense, and is withal as honest as he should be. But here lies the secret, that there is mention of unction, and that of the sick too, and moreover, that there is the word sacrament; and so without any more to do, it must be the sacrament of extreme unction that is spoken of, as if no other account were to be given of the place. But let the place itself

* Spondan. A. C. 63. N. 4. [ut supra.]

be produced, which Bellarmine (to be even with him for his censure of Chemnitius) was afraid to produce; and the impertinence of appealing to it, will immediately appear. “But the chrism is not to be given to penitents, because it is a KIND of a sacrament. For how can one kind of a sacrament be allowed to those, to whom the rest are denied?” By which it is evident that it is not unction of the sick, much less extreme unction of the sick, but the very chrism itself, the chrism, I say, which had been blessed by the bishop, that Innocent calls a sacrament. With this sacrament they anointed those that were baptized, that were ordained priests, that were consecrated bishops, and the applying of it to the sick made it not one jot more a sacrament, than it was before. But then how does he style it a sacrament? Far enough I am sure from Bellarmine’s purpose. He says, “It is a kind of a sacrament.” Now that which is a kind of a sacrament, is not a sacrament properly so called, such as baptism and the eucharist are, but that which in some respect may be so called. And many such sacraments there were in those times, more than seven times seven, as every man knows that is versed in the ancients. Every sign of a holy thing, every thing blessed to a religious use, and not only the ceremonies of the Christian Church, but sometimes the mysteries of Moses’s law, and the types of Christ that were amongst the Israelites, were called sacraments. It is very much that Bellarmine did not produce for his sacrament of extreme unction, that saying of Tertullian,* “Jesus was called Christ from the sacrament of unction.” But to clear this matter from all shadow of scruple, I will here transcribe out of this very epistle, what shall be able to do it alone. “Concerning the fermented bread† which we send about the city parishes upon Lord’s days,‡ you had no need to ask our opinion, since all our Churches are within the city; whose presbyters, because they cannot be with us upon that day, by reason of their flocks committed to them; therefore of the acolytes they take the bread, which is blessed by us, that they may especially upon that day be judged not to be separated from our communion; which should not be done through the country parishes§ as I conceive, because sacraments are not to be carried a great way off.” Here he calls the blessed bread, or holy bread, which was sent about to the parishes of the diocese (but at Rome, it

* Adv. Prax. C. 28. [p. 517. Par. 1695.]

† Ubi supra, n. 5. [p. 178.] ‡ Tituli. § Parœciæ.

seems, only to the parishes of the city), to testify unity of communion ; he calls it, I say, a sacrament ; not so much as qualifying it with that diminution, ‘a kind of a sacrament,’ which he bestowed upon chrism. And yet in a proper sense one was just such a sacrament as the other, that is, not at all ; but both of them come under that sort of things, which the Romanists themselves call sacramentals, or rites that have some kind of likeness to sacraments truly so called.

And thus much concerning the testimony of Innocentius I. which had not deserved an answer of ten lines, but that all the Catholics produce it, and the Cardinal would bear us in hand that it ought to suffice, though there were never another. And he confesses that they “have not many testimonies of this kind, that is, so ancient and so express, as this is ; because the ancients had not occasion to write of this matter.”* That they had no occasion to write of extreme unction is undoubtedly true ; for there could be no occasion to write of a thing that was never dreamed of till some hundreds of years after. But if this be the most ancient and express testimony they have, it had been better for them that Decentius had never consulted Innocentius about anointing the sick with chrism, that they might have had no occasion of appealing to thus much antiquity for extreme unction, by which, if that be a thing they care for, they have exposed themselves to open shame.

But now it may be expected that Innocent III. for coming so short of the other in point of antiquity, should at least make amends for that, by the plainness and expressness of his testimony. And so he does, if the Cardinal may be believed, who assures us that Innocent III. “gives testimony to this sacrament largely and clearly.” But so he does not, if one may believe that Pope himself expressing his own mind in the place to which the Cardinal refers us. For neither can I, nor I am confident, did he find more in it, than this, that the Pope having distinguished between the inward and the outward unction, quoted St. James for the latter, and then tells us, that “in order to the outward and visible unction, oil is blessed, which is said to be the oil of the catechumens, and of the sick, and chrism is prepared which is made of oil and balm, for a mystical reason.”† But neither does he speak one word of extreme unction, nor does he make the anointing of

* Ubi supra, cap. 4. Sect. Ex hoc, &c.

† Decretal. Gr. lib. 1. tit. 15. [Corp. Jur. Can. vol. 2. p. 277. Lugd. 1671.]

the sick a sacrament, any more than the anointing of those that were learning their catechism. And the truth is, that the great business of that chapter is to explain the mystery of anointing bishops. So that one would wonder why the Cardinal should pretend, that even this Pope's testimony is given largely and clearly ; though if it had, the testimony had been very impertinent, since it is no proof at all that extreme unction stands upon the tradition of the ancients. For this Pope lived in the thirteenth age, as we observed before, was a man as degenerate from the ancient bishops of Rome, as the age in which he lived was from the primitive times ; he was a deposer of princes, and a horrible persecutor of God's servants ; nor is his testimony, whatever it had been, worth considering, but only to shew that the zealous men of that Church, are resolved not to want authorities, though there are none to be had. And so much for the testimony of Popes.

SECT. IV.

That Extreme Unction has not the testimony of any ancient Council.

In the second place we are told of Councils, that prove the antiquity of extreme unction. And the first that they bring forth is that of Nice ; witness the sixty-ninth canon of the Latin translation of the Arabic, "where," saith Bellarmine,* "express mention is made of the oil of the sick, and it is distinguished from chrism, and from the oil of the catechumens." And so there is some hope that we shall be troubled no more with chrism, instead of extreme unction ; which two things the Cardinal, it seems, saw well enough, did not infer one another, though he was willing to forget it, to make room for the famous testimony of Innocentius. But to make riddance of the testimony in hand : this sixty-ninth canon, with the other seventy-nine Arabic ones, its fellows, is all a senseless forgery, for which we are beholden to the face of Turrian the Jesuit ; who to cast the better grace upon his work, brings in the African Fathers for witnesses, that there were more than twenty canons of that Council ; though the Greek and Latin Churches knew of no more. "For,"† says he, "if they had not been very sure" there were yet other canons,

* Ubi supra, Cap. 4. Sect. Deinde ex Conciliis, &c.

† Turrian. Proœm. in Canon. Arab.

they had never desired the copies of the acts of that Council from the Eastern sees ; when all the world knows that they desired it upon no such account, but only to deliver themselves from the importunity of the bishop of Rome claiming a right of appeals from them, upon a forged canon of Nice.

The truth is, this sixty-ninth canon is a very foolish one, and altogether unworthy of those Fathers. It shews how they are to be reconciled that were led from the faith by fornication with infidels, *viz.* amongst other things, by sprinkling them with water and oil blessed, “as water is blessed for the purifying of their uncleanness, who had eaten any thing that died of itself.” What stuff is this ?

And yet this worthy canon cannot be made to speak for that purpose for which it is brought ; for it says, “the priest must bless water and oil, not as it is blessed in baptism, nor as chrism is blessed, but as the oil of the sick is blessed, and as water is blessed for the purifying,” &c. But does it say that the oil of the sick is blessed for sacramental unction of the sick ? No more, I assure you, than that water is blessed for the sacramental purification of those that had eaten carrion. In a word, here is no mention so much as of extreme unction, which at least had been necessary, to make this testimony worth any notice. But it is a misfortune that will sometimes happen ; to bring forth a forgery, and to get nothing by it.

The Cardinal having made all sure by a General Council, tells us, that they “have particular Councils too,” but then they are ancient ones, he says ; and yet not so ancient neither. For the first he mentions is the second Synod of Challon, which was held in the ninth age ; and therefore at too great a distance from the beginning, to prove a sacrament by the testimony of the ancients. But, however, let us hear the canon to which we are referred :* “According to the instruction of St. James, with which also the instructions of the Fathers do agree, the sick ought to be anointed by the presbyters, with oil that is blessed by the bishops. For so he says, Is any one sick ? &c. Therefore this kind of medicine is not to be undervalued, which heals the distempers of soul and body.” The Cardinal’s gloss upon this canon is, that “the Council speaking of this sacrament says, that the decrees of the Fathers are consonant to the Epistle of St. James.” But he did very well to suppress the words of the

* Can. 48. tom. 7 [p. 1283.] Labb.

canon itself ; for otherwise it had been evident that it does not speak of his sacrament, as he, of his own head, says it does : for indeed it speaks of no sacrament at all ; the word sacrament at which elsewhere he is so ready to take advantage, being not so much as here mentioned. Moreover that unction of which this Synod spake, was for healing the distempers of the body, and therefore very different from the Roman unction, which is principally for those that are drawing on to the last gasp. And as for the diseases of the soul, which it was said to heal too, there is no reason that the Synod should be interpreted otherwise, than according to the text which they cited ; where it is said, “ If he hath committed sins, they shall be forgiven him : ” that is to say, that the first and constant intention in unction of the sick, was to relieve their bodies, and in some cases it would also be beneficial to their souls.

But by this time I grant there was a certain custom of anointing the sick, slipped into the Church, something different from the judgment and practice of more ancient times ; but withal, a great deal more different from the modern doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome. This I shall shew more particularly in its proper place, and that although thus much antiquity comes too late to conclude us in points wherein it was singular, yet it does effectually condemn the Roman Church in points wherein it was not so, because it shews the lateness of their innovations.

As for the Synod of Worms, held in the year 868, which he next mentions, he confesses that the canon he refers to renews the decree of Innocentius. The truth is, that canon does word for word* repeat all that passage in the epistle of Innocentius which we have considered before, and this without the least preface to it, or note upon it. This therefore, instead of being a testimony to extreme unction, is a good argument that those Fathers knew no more of it than the bishops of Rome and Eugubium did above 400 years before.

He cites also a canon of a Synod at Meaux, out of Burchardus, commanding, that “ upon Good-Friday eve the rectors of parishes should receive a glass of holy oil from the bishop for the anointing of the sick, according to Apostolical tradition.” Now whether there ever was such a canon made at Meaux or not, it is all one to us ; for that it was now the custom to anoint all sick persons we readily grant ; but that it was either

* Can. 72. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 8. p. 958.]

extreme or sacramental unction we flatly deny ; nor is there a word to that purpose in the canon now cited.

The next is the second Synod of Aken,* which requires, that once a year the bishops in all cities do not neglect the benediction of holy oil, “ wherein the relief of sick persons is believed to be.”† What says Bellarmine upon this ? “ The canon,” says he, “ requires that this sacrament be not neglected, in which the salvation of the sick is contained.” But does it speak of extreme unction, or of sacramental unction ? Yes, they will say, for it speaks of that unction in “ which the salvation of the sick is contained.” But the canon does not say as Bellarmine does, but that the health or salvation of the sick is *believed* to be in that unction ; which is as much as to say, that their unction was believed to be very profitable towards the recovery of a sick man’s health. And that this was the meaning of the Fathers appears from their instructions to the presbyters concerning the care they ought to have of the sick, which is expressed in these words, “ But if he (his parishioner) be grieved with sickness, let him not by his (the presbyter’s) negligence want confession, and the prayer of the priest, or the anointing of holy oil. Lastly, if he perceives his end approaching, let him commend the Christian soul, as a priest should do, to the Lord his God, with the reception of the holy communion, and his body to be buried in a Christian manner.”‡ By which you see there are two states of the sick person considered, one when he is depressed by sickness, the other when he is drawing to his end ; and that the anointing with oil is prescribed as proper to the former, *viz.* while good hope of life lasted ; not to the latter, as it is now in the Church of Rome, when he seemed to be near his end ; for in that case they prescribed the administration of the communion : which shews, that by believing the salvation or health of the sick to be in unction, which they had observed not long before, they meant the common belief of the profitableness of unction to raise up the sick and to restore him to health. For if they had taken unction to be the sacrament of the dying, according to the new divinity of the Trent Synod, they also would have prescribed unction in that case, wherein it is plain they did not prescribe it, *viz.* when it was perceived that death was at hand.§

* Aquisgr. 2. cap. 2. sect. 1. can. 8. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 1708.]

† In quo salvatio infirmorum creditur.

‡ Ibid. sect. 2. can. 5. [p. 1711.]

§ Si fnem urgentem perspexerit.

To conclude, whereas the Cardinal affirms, that the Council of Mentz under Rabanus, affirms like things ; I do acknowledge, that in this he says the truth, for they require, that “according to the decrees of the Fathers, the sick should be heartened with prayers, consolations and holy unctions, and refreshed with the communion ;”* where it is again observable, that the unction is to go before ; and then the communion to follow ; which latter that they required in case of such a prospect of death, as the Synod of Aken speaks of, is plain from their calling the communion, the *Viaticum*,† or the food for their passage out of this into the other world. But if they had dreamt of the extreme unction of the Church of Rome, that, and not the eucharist, had been prescribed in the last place, to fortify the soul in her last conflicts.

And now the sum of his testimonies for extreme unction out ancient Councils comes to this, that he has not one genuine canon of a Council to pretend till the ninth age ; and there is not one that he appeals to in that age neither, but, all things considered, it rather makes against him than for him. And so much for ancient Councils.

SECT. V.

That Extreme Unction has not the testimony of any ancient Father.

HE pretends that they “have two kinds of testimonies from the Fathers. One, of those who indeed do not expressly say, that this is one of the sacraments ; but yet they expressly say, that the words of St. James belong to us, and that the presbyters ought now and in all times to do that which St. James describes.”‡ Now if he had such testimonies as these to produce, they would not in the least affect our cause, since we also say, that this place of St. James “belongs to us,” as I have already shewn (p. 1, Sect. 8), and that it prescribes some things which there will be occasion for in all ages of the Church, and nothing but what is very fit to be done when there is the same occasion for it that there was at first. But let us, however, consider the testimonies themselves.

The first he refers to is Origen’s second Homily upon Levi-

* Mog. 1. can. 26. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 49.]

† Communione Viatici reficiantur.

‡ Ubi supra ect. Jam vero ex patribus, &c.

ticus, where there are seven ways laid down of obtaining remission of sins ; the seventh being expressed in that passage which the Cardinal meant. The words are these : “ There is yet a seventh way, though it be hard and painful ; when the sinner washes his bed with tears, and tears are his meat day and night, and when he is not ashamed to shew his sin to the priest of the Lord, and to seek for healing according to him who saith, I said I will confess against myself my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the ungodliness of my heart. In which also is fulfilled that which the Apostle saith, Is any man sick ? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them lay their hands upon him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer,” &c.* Now here indeed Origen says, that in the penitence which he described, in order to the remission of sins, that text of St. James was fulfilled. Which is so far from being an argument that he understood the text of extreme unction, that it is a good argument of the quite contrary ; for it is manifest that he does not apply the text to the case of a dying, or so much as a sick person ; but in general, to the case of a sinner that anxiously seeks for pardon, and is willing to undergo that hard and painful penitence which he described. If therefore the Cardinal’s meaning by this testimony was to prove, that Origen believed all was to be done in every age which St. James directs, and in particular, the anointing with oil ; then he must needs suppose, that in Origen’s opinion St. James directed the anointing of penitents, without any regard at all to a state of health or sickness. But if Origen had thought so, I dare say that he (whatever the Cardinal might have done) would not have called this unction, either the sacrament of the dying, or extreme unction, or so much as the unction of the sick. Could anything be more absurd, than to pretend that this great man produced St. James’s text in favour of extreme unction, which is always of the sick or the dying ; when the persons to whom he applied it, and who were to be anointed, if he speaks of any that were to be so, might every one of them be in good and perfect health ? Only Bellarmine, of all men, should not have dealt in this fashion, because he says expressly afterward, that “ this sacrament is as it were a kind of penance of the sick, who cannot do works of penance.”† But it is plain that those persons to whom Origen applied the text of St. James, were those that did works of penance, and that a hard and laborious

* Ultra med. † Ubi supra, cap. 7. Sect. Tertio nota, [p. 712. col. 2.]

penance too. It is not for nothing that the Cardinal does so often refer his reader to authorities, without producing the words themselves.

So that this authority is grossly impertinent to the purpose for which it is brought; and though Genebrard* had some colour to make this place speak of sacramental confession, yet there is none in the world to produce it in favour of extreme unction. But then what was Origen's meaning, to say, that in the penitence of a sinner, and God's mercy to him, that was fulfilled which St. James said, “Is any man sick?” &c. I answer, first, that although this text was produced, yet it may be reasonably supposed, that Origen did not mean all was fulfilled that is there said, but only some part of it, *viz.* that which concerned calling for the presbyter, and desiring his prayers, and obtaining remission of sins, to which we are to add, confessing of faults, though he did not cite the text so far. For that all should be fulfilled in the proper sense, by doing what he prescribed, is inconceivable; for to *weep*, and to *confess*, &c. is not to be *anointed with oil*. I say therefore, Origen might refer to some special passages in that text, *viz.* those which might be well accommodated to his present purpose.

Or, secondly, according to the ingenious conjecture of Mr. Daille, Origen allegorized this place after his manner, making the sick man the type of the sinner. “As in St. James the sick calls for the presbyters, so here the sinner goes to the same. There the sick is anointed with oil. Here the sinner is besmeared with his own tears, and as it were with the unction of penitence. There the sick man is healed; here also the sinner is restored. And therefore Origen affirms that to be fulfilled in the one, which St. James affirmed properly and literally of the other. For every one knows, that as often as that is done which was expressed by a type, so often the type is said to be fulfilled.”† Which supposition is the more probable, because in this Homily, that great man's hand was in at allegorizing; for there the reader may find, that he discovered his seven ways of coming to forgiveness in the sacrifices of the law. But whatever his meaning was, one thing is certain, that he did not mean extreme unction; and that is all we need to be sure of at present.

To the same purpose is St. Chrysostom,‡ quoted in the next

* Orig. [par. 1. p. 68. col. 1.] Paris. [1604.]

† Ubi supra, sect. 93.

‡ De Sacerdotio, l. 3. c. 6. [vol. 1. p. 384. Par. 1718.]

place, but not a word produced that he says. For, indeed, he brings in the text of St. James as an instance of that priestly dignity and power which he was speaking of ; how available it is to obtain forgiveness of sins for us, not only in baptism at first, but afterward by discipline, instruction and prayers. But of the case of a dying or sick person he says not one word ; which shews plainly enough that he produced the whole text for the sake of the latter part of it, which expresseth forgiveness of sins, and that he thought this part of the text might be understood of the power of the keys, which was the subject of his discourse, both before and after the mentioning of this text.

As little to the purpose is it, either that he found this text quoted in St. Austin's *Speculum* ;* for no interpretation of it is given there ; or that, as he observes, St. Austin lays down those passages only of the Scripture which are useful to us at all times ; as if this place of Scripture were of no use to us now, unless the doctrine and use of extreme unction might be concluded from it ; the vanity of which conceit we have already touched more than once.

As for the 215th sermon, *De Tempore*,† which comes next, it is none of St. Austin's ; but taken out of a book written above two hundred years after his death. And yet that which the Cardinal aims at here, does him not the least service. For though St. James's text is produced, yet it is to exhort the sick, to anoint his own body with oil, that the Church was to furnish him withal, instead of going to enchanters, wizards, soothsayers, and using devilish arts to recover his health. He must be a cunning man indeed, that can from hence make out either extreme unction for the soul, or a priest to administer it.

But his next step is, to the Treatise of the Visitation of the Sick. And now we are gotten the Lord knows where. For Bellarmine himself confesseth that it seems "to be falsely attributed to St. Austin ;" only he adds, "it cannot be denied to be an ancient and good book." That is hard indeed : but yet Erasmus denied it, who could judge of an author as well as another body, and calls this author "a prating fellow, neither learned nor eloquent."‡ And in truth, it is such a senseless book, that he had reason to be angry at the impudence or

* Tom. 3. [vol. 17. p. 1857. Bassan. 1797.]

† Vid. Dallaeum de Extr. Unct. [ut supra,] p. 108, 113.

‡ Censura in Visit. Infirm.

ignorance of those that obtrude such writings upon us under the name of St. Austin. And yet Bellarmine, upon second thoughts, could not find in his heart to let this book go for one that seems to be none of St. Augustine's, but afterward chose to say, that he "had nothing certain about it."* For why? there is good evidence in it for worshipping crosses and images, and for auricular confession, besides the small touch concerning the spiritual signification of external unction. Such books as these they give up as unwillingly as a man parts with a dying friend; and seem to have no regret all the while for sacrificing the reputation of the Fathers to the service of their cause.

Bede is mentioned next, who, in his Notes upon James, ch. v. speaking of the unction there, hath these words: "And we read in the Gospel that the Apostles also did this, and now the custom of the Church is, that the sick should be anointed with consecrated oil by the bishops, and be healed thereby together with prayer. Nor is it only lawful for presbyters, but as Pope Innocentius writeth, for all Christians also to anoint themselves or their friends with it in their need." So that Bede makes the unction of St. James to be the same with that of St. Mark, and that of the Church the same with both; the recovery of bodily health being the end of all three; than which there could not be expected a better testimony against extreme unction. But by this time we are so well used to the Cardinal's authorities, that we ought to wonder at nothing.

As for Theophylact in the eleventh age, the Cardinal sends us to his Notes upon St. Mark, where indeed he takes occasion also to repeat the place of St. James, and from thence to shew the several significations of anointing with oil; but of extreme unction, no, nor so much as of anointing the sick, he saith not a word.

Lastly, Oecumenius upon the 5th of St. James, tells us, that "whilst our Lord conversed with men, the Apostles did the same thing, anointing the sick with oil, and healing them." And therefore according to Oecumenius, it is impossible to prove extreme unction from St. James, which is not a rite of healing the sick, but the sacrament of the dying.

Commend me to these men for doing their work by authorities of the Fathers, and traditions of the Ancients.

The second set of Bellarmine's Fathers, are those that

* De Scriptor. Eccles. p. 171. Lugd.

"expressly number this unction amongst the sacraments,"* that is to say, they call the unction of the sick, a sacrament, to which I have already said, that if every rite and ceremony to which ancient writers have given the name of a *sacrament*, must go for a sacrament properly so called, the Church of Rome must mend her Councils and Catechisms, and multiply sacraments exceedingly. But who are those Fathers? The most ancient that he names is Alcuinus, who lived in the latter end of the eighth age, and the beginning of the ninth. He was scholar to Venerable Bede, and if in this matter he learned of his master, we are secure enough that his authority will do us no harm. But whether it would or not, we shall never learn from that book† to which Bellarmine refers us, because it was none of his, but the work of a much later writer, as Quercetanus has shewn in the Preface to the edition of Alcuinus. But what is worst of all, the testimony of this author, whoever he was, though it proves *unction* of the sick to be customary in his days, yet prove as clearly that *extreme* unction was not. For he distinguishes between the *sick* and the *dying*, shewing that the sick indeed were anointed, but not those that were in extreme danger of death, for which there was very good reason, since, even in those days unction was used in order to bodily health, but not as a sacrament to fortify the soul in her passage out of this life. For a more particular account of this authority, I refer the reader to Mr. Daille's‡ exquisite discourse upon it.

Amalarius comes next, whose judgment concerning the use and end of that unction which St. James mentions, we have already seen (p. 1. §. 5.) and that in the very place§ to which the Cardinal refers us. This writer does accordingly make the unction of his time to be a remedy of sickness; and therefore they may as well make life and death to be one and the same thing, as have the conscience to make the unction of Amalarius *extreme* unction.

And now we are brought to the borders of the twelfth age; for his next Father is Cardinal Damiani, who is yet far enough from acknowledging this sacrament of extreme unction. For though he ascribes spiritual effects to that unction mentioned by St. James, yet he says, "Health is restored by it," and

* Ubi supra Sect. Habemus deinde alios, &c. [p. 710. col. 1.]

† De Divinis Officiis, cap. 47, 49. [tom. 2. vol. 2. p. 511, 512. ed. 1777.]

‡ Ubi supra, p. 119, &c.

§ De Offic. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 12. [ut supra, p. 944.]

though he calls it a sacrament, yet he makes it to be a sacrament to be established by the Fathers,* *i.e.* a rite which the Fathers thought deserved the name of a sacrament, no less than many others, which yet were not of divine institution, or universal and necessary obligation. And that this was his meaning, cannot, I think, reasonably be denied by our adversaries, since he makes unction of the sick, not to be one of *seven*, but of *twelve* sacraments which he reckons up in that place.

But to make sure of somebody, Bellarmine goes on to St. Bernard, Father Hugo de Sancto Victore, and Father Lombard, who, I acknowledge, began to speak of the unction of the sick as the Church of Rome does now. But then I cannot allow these to be ancient Fathers, for they were all men of the twelfth age. And it is more than enough for us, that the great Cardinal having undertaken to prove by the tradition of the ancients, that extreme unction is a sacrament, has not been able to produce so much as one pertinent testimony for it, of Pope, Council, or Father, for above a thousand years after Christ.

SECT. VI.

That the silence of antiquity, and the circumstances with which it is to be taken, are a positive proof that Extreme Unction has not the Tradition of the Ancients, but is a notorious innovation.

THOUGH so great a failing is of itself a reasonable inducement to believe that extreme unction was utterly unknown to antiquity, yet there are many more evidences of it ; which it may be worth the while to produce, if it be but to reprove the confidence of our adversaries, and to shew that they who make the greatest noise of ancient Fathers and Councils, have the least cause for it of all other Christians in the world. And here I am entering upon a subject which Mr. Daille† has quite exhausted, and have therefore no more to do than to bring into a narrow compass some of those arguments from antiquity which he has brought together, and pursued at large with extraordinary judgment.

* Unde et Sancti Patres hanc Unctionem Sacramentum esse sanxerunt.

† De Extr. Unc. lib. 11. cap. 1.

In the first place ; there is not the least mention of this pretended sacrament in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian or Cyprian,* nor in any of the writers of the three first ages, who yet discourse frequently and plainly of the discipline and the sacraments of the Christian Church ; and therefore it was not known to them.

2. Neither was it known in the fourth age, which afforded so many Christian writers, since not one of them mentions it, no, not in treating upon the sacraments and rites of the Church ; which had been as unpardonable negligence in them, if they had believed any such sacrament as this, as it would be now in the Divines of the Church of Rome, to omit extreme unction when they pretend to give an account of the sacraments. Epiphanius† largely treats of the doctrines, rites, and discipline of the Church in the close of his work against heresies, and has not a word of extreme unction. The counterfeit Dionysius, in his Ecclesiastical History, does with wonderful exactness and curiosity lay down all the mysteries of the Church from the baptism to the funerals of the faithful ; but of extreme unction he is altogether silent. And so is the author of the Apostolical Institutions, in his eighth book, where he undertakes to declare all ecclesiastical forms whatsoever.

3. That for the first six ages, though the manner and circumstances of the deaths of many holy persons were described very particularly by the writers of those times, yet there is not the least intimation that so much as any one of them was anointed. Eusebius mentions it not of Constantine, or Helen ; nor Athanasius of Anthony ; nor Gregory Nazianzen of his sister Gorgonia,‡ or of Gregory his father, or of Basil ; nor Gregory Nyssen of Gregory of Neocæsarea, or of Ephraim ; nor Ambrose of his brother Satyrus, or of Theodosius ; nor Sulpitius of Martin ; nor Simeon Metaphrastes of Chrysostom ; nor Paulinus of Ambrose ; nor Jerome of Lucinius or Hilarius, &c. no nor of Paula, though he and her daughter Eustochium were present at her end, nor St. Augustine of his mother Monica, nor Possidius of St. Augustine.

On the other hand, in these latter ages, the extreme unction of those who die in the Roman communion, and have their lives and deaths written afterward, is seldom or never omitted, as appears by a vast number of instances out of Surius,§ particularly of Carolus Borromeus, Franciscus Borgia, Antonine

* P. 61, 62.

† P. 62, 63.

‡ Cap. 2. p. 66, 67, 68.

§ P. 70.

of Florence, Bernardinus de Senis, Justinian of Venice, Count Eleazar, Thomas Aquinas, William the Abbot, Antony of Padua, and the famous Dominic, and a great many more, of whom it is expressly recorded that they had extreme unction. No other reasonable account can be given why this so very material a circumstance should perpetually be omitted in describing the deaths of the ancient Christians, and hardly ever omitted upon the like occasion by Roman writers; but that as the thing itself is now constantly practised in the Church of Rome, so it was utterly unknown to the ancient Church.

4. That from the fifth age to the ninth, they that wrote the deaths of holy persons, do very frequently remember that they received the eucharist, never that they received extreme unction before their departure out of this life, which is proved by an abundance of instances out of Bede and Surius, &c.* But had extreme unction been used in those times, no account can be given why the mention of that should be perpetually omitted, there being no manner of reason why it should not have been as frequently remembered as the other.

5. That to the ninth age none of the ancients moved any question concerning penitents receiving or not receiving extreme unction before the article of death; whereas nothing had been more proper, if they had believed it to be the "sacrament of the dying."† For there was a diversity of discipline as to the communicating of penitents in the fourth and fifth ages, and so on from that which obtained in the three first; and it consisted in this, that the first were more rigid, and denied the eucharist to those in their departure out of this life, to whom the latter ages allowed it. But if extreme unction had been then used, this diversity had appeared in that, and not in the eucharist.

I shall produce no more of his arguments to this purpose, these being abundantly sufficient to satisfy any disinterested man, that either there was no such thing as extreme unction known in the Church for many ages from the beginning, or else the ancients, and indeed all Christian writers that had any occasion to treat of the forementioned things, for above a thousand years after Christ, were guilty of unaccountable folly and stupidity in one and the same thing, *i.e.* in omitting not only what was necessary for the purpose, but moreover, plain and

* Cap. 3. p. 73, 74, &c.

† Cap. 4. p. 75, &c.

easy, and, one would think, unavoidable by men of common diligence and understanding.

That one consideration, which Chemnitius objected against extreme unction, that there are no ancient examples of holy men anointed in their extremes, is of itself sufficient to carry the cause from the Church of Rome in point of antiquity, after once it is made evident that there is no passage in any ancient Father that bears witness to that pretended sacrament. Unless Bellarmine's answer may pass, that there are no such examples, because "things that are generally known, and daily practised, do not use to be written."* But if this will do, it is impossible these men should ever be convinced. For when we charge them with innovation in any matters of doctrine and practice, if they can shew that those things are written in the ancients, we are certainly gone that way; for this proves that to have been well known, and commonly practised in the primitive times, which we pretend was but of yesterday. But if we can shew that they were not written, we get nothing by it at all, for it seems the reason why they were not written is, because they were "generally known," and "daily practised." If indeed there had been as pregnant testimonies to the use of extreme unction, as there are, for instance, to the anointing of the baptized with chrism, one might have wondered that there should be no mention of any one person in the ancient Church anointed in his extremes; but he could not from thence reasonably conclude that there was no such unction, because there is other kind of written testimony for it. But the chrism after baptism, though of less moment than extreme unction, is plentifully attested, as I have shewn, §. 1. but extreme unction not at all; and therefore to answer the objection from want of any one example of this kind in antiquity, by saying, that those things were not written, because they were perfectly known, is not to reason with an adversary, but to face him down.

Nor does he mend the matter by supposing that Bernard would not have omitted this sacrament, although it is not written in his life that he received it. For it appears by other testimonies of that age, that extreme unction then began to be in use, and therefore we do not deny that St. Bernard was anointed in his extremes, because Malachius said nothing of it. But that the lives of so many ancient Christians should be

* Cap. 6. Sect. Respondeo : non exstare, &c. [ut supra, p. 712. col. 1.]

written, and the manner of their dying punctually described, and not one of them said to be anointed ; this, we think, makes it very reasonable to conclude, that extreme unction had no being in those days, and impossible for a reasonable man to deny it, if upon no occasion whatsoever there is any mention of it, even where there was all imaginable reason to mention it, excepting this only, that there was no such thing to be mentioned.

If to save the Cardinal's sincerity, it be said, that he had before proved the doctrine of extreme unction by other testimonies of antiquity ; I grant that he had done his best towards it, but whether to his own satisfaction or not, whether to warrant his putting off the want of so much as one example, by pretending that " known things are not written," I shall leave the reader to judge, upon this observation. When he had produced and amplified the testimony of Innocentius, he concludes thus : " From this testimony we gather why there are not many testimonies of this kind, *i.e.* so ancient and so express, *viz.* because they had no occasion of writing about this matter. For neither had Innocentius written upon it, if the Bishop of Eugubium had not doubted whether a bishop might give the sacrament of extreme unction."* Now let us lay these things together. When he excuses himself from producing examples, he tells us, " That things perfectly known and daily practised are not wont to be written." Well ! admitting this for the present, how shall we come to know that extreme unction was a thing perfectly known to antiquity, and daily practised ? Without all doubt, by clear and unquestionable testimonies of another sort, and such as will more than balance the want of examples. And therefore it is to be hoped, that we shall not be put off with excuses when those testimonies are desired. But alas ! he begs our pardon here too ; for " as things perfectly known are not written," so likewise " we have not many testimonies, so ancient and so express, because there was no occasion for them." So that there are no ancient examples of extreme unction written, because it was " perfectly known ;" nor many testimonies for it so ancient and so express, for " want of occasion." Did ever man talk in this fashion that thought his cause was honest ? And now at last the testimony of Innocentius had need be a thundering testimony, because we have " not many so ancient and so express." And yet neither is his testimony so ancient, being

* Cap. 4. Sect. Ex hoc etiam, &c. [Ibid. p. 709. col. 2.]

no older than the fifth age ; nor is it so express, unless because it is expressly against extreme unction, as I have manifestly shewn the reason of that testimony to be, though extreme unction be not named there.

After all, it is notoriously false, “that things perfectly known, and daily used, are not written,” which is evident from this very instance, that since extreme unction came in fashion, they seldom or never describe the circumstances of their people’s dying, but they observe how they departed with this their sacrament ; of which Mr. Daille* has given great plenty of instances.

The premises are so clear and full, that without repeating them, I shall take leave to conclude, that they have not only no tradition for their pretended sacrament of extreme unction, but that the tradition of the ancients is as plainly against it, as tradition can be against an innovation, and he must be a very unreasonable man that desires better evidence of this kind for a negative.

SECT. VII.

Of the occasions and beginnings of Extreme Unction; how vast a change it made from the Primitive Unction, and by what degrees it was made.

AND now it is easy from what hath been already produced in this controversy, to gather how and when this mystery of extreme unction gained footing in the Roman communion. For it already appears, that there are three unctions of the sick to be distinguished one from the other.

1. The unction of the sick that were miraculously cured, and of them only.

2. The unction of all sick persons whatsoever, but this in order to bodily health.

3. The unction not of all sick persons, but of the desperately sick, or the dying, and this to take away the relics of sin, and to fortify their souls against the agonies of death, which is the extreme unction of the Roman Church.

Now these three kinds of anointing the sick being duly considered, will naturally guide us to the occasions and degrees by which the last came to take place, and to the age in which

* Ubi supra, p. 70, &c.

it began. For the first unction in process of time grew into the second, and the second at last into the third.

1. The first is not only an ancient unction, but was from the beginning, *viz.* the anointing of those that were healed by a supernatural gift. Which gift continued in the Church more or less for six ages after Christ, and was not quite worn out in the seventh, if we believe our countryman Bede (§. 1.), about which time it was that the second unction of all sick persons whatsoever took place. The chief inducement to which, seemed to be the observation of those cures by anointing, that were wrought by such as had the gift of healing; and the reports of miraculous cures that were done also by the sacraments of baptism,* and the eucharist,† and by water blessed out of baptism,‡ and by the oil of the church lamps,§ contributed not a little to the bringing in of the custom of anointing all sick persons indifferently. We have already observed some beginnings of it in the fifth age, in the epistle of Innocentius, by which it appears, that one of Decentius's questions was this, "whether chrism, or the holy oil, that was reserved in churches, might be applied to the faithful in their sickness?" which Innocentius resolved in the affirmative. And no wonder that in an age or two more, the custom of anointing all sick persons in order to their recovery was grown general, since very small inducements are sufficient to dispose men to seek for temporal and bodily relief, from things that are consecrated to the uses of religion, especially when there are some notable examples of success. For as yet miraculous healing by oil was not quite ceased; and by consecrated oil other wonderful things were said to be done besides healing the sick; such for instance, as Bede|| relates concerning the voyage of Utta, a presbyter, who came to Aidan and desired his prayers for a prosperous passage and return: Aidan gave him holy oil, telling him that he knew a tempest would overtake him, and charged him that when it began, he should throw that into the sea, for then all would be quiet again, as it happened. For such reasons as these, Christians in their distress were disposed to seek for relief and recovery, rather by holy oil than by any other sacred matter, especially since the text of St. James lay before them, and

* Aug. de Civ. D. lib. 22. c. 8. [vol. 7. p. 667. Par. 1685.]

† Naz. Orat. 11. p. 187. [Par. 1630.]

‡ Theod. Hist. [lib. 5.] c. 21. [p. 223. Cantab. 1720.]

§ Chrys. in Matth. Hom. 33. [vol. 7. p. 373. Par. 1727.]

|| Hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 15.

could be easily applied to this practice. So far at least as to create some good hope of benefit. To all which we must add, that the great appearance of piety that that practice made, being an expression of reposing greater confidence in God, than in the force of natural remedies, made it pass without opposition. And so entered—

2. The sacred unction of the sick into the Church, not now of those only, who were cured by the prayer of faith, but of all sick persons whatsoever, in hope of receiving bodily relief by it. Which beginning at the seventh age, went on through the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh ages, to the beginning of the twelfth. It is of this unction that the *Liber Sacramentorum*, said to be Pope Gregory's, gives a full account in the office of visiting the sick, where it is very plain, that the prayers upon that occasion shew the principal end of unction to be the recovery of the sick person's health.* I confess, if that book, as it is now published, were all of it used in Pope Gregory I.'s time, it would be an argument, that in the Church of Rome, at least, this practice of anointing all the sick, had obtained in the sixth age ; and perhaps Decentius's letter to Innocentius I. had given a start to it there, sooner than it had in any other of the great Churches. But whether this office for visiting the sick was composed at the latter end of the sixth age, or afterwards, this one thing I am sure of, that the unction there referred to, was altogether accommodated, as by the prayers it manifestly appears, to the raising up of the sick person, and the recovery of his health. Of this unction it is that Bede, Alcuinus, Amalarius, the Synods of Challon, Aken, and Menth, and Peter Damiani himself spake, as any one may see by what has been said. Now this unction was ancient indeed, but yet a great way off from the beginning. It agreed with the primitive unction in this, that the professed and direct design of it, was the recovery of bodily health ; but in this it differed from it, that now all sick persons were anointed ; whereas at first those only were so for whom the supernatural gift was exerted. They anointed before for bodily health, and did not fail of the end, because they anointed as they were guided by a supernatural impulse. But now they anointed for the same end, but must necessarily fail very often, because they anointed in course, and it was grown

* See Defence of Exposition of the Order of the Church of England, p. 45, &c.

a settled office in the Church. For which reason it is something to be wondered at, that this kind of unction should last so long as it did in the West, and yet more, that it should continue in the Greek Church to this very day, of which more in its place. For it must needs seem no little disparagement to the ceremony and to the office belonging to it, that so little fruit of it should appear, and that the experience of one age after another plainly shewed, that the virtue and the power that used to accompany it in the primitive Church, was now to be seen no more. But I believe the casual cures which had happened without any unction at all, were constantly made use of to support the reputation of this rite; to which not only the influence which the priests had upon the people, and that reigning opinion of those ages, that nothing guarded religion more than the amusement of many mysteries; but likewise the zeal of pious and devout Christians contributed very great assistance: thus I say, this practice might come to be supported so long together, that is to say, by policy on the one side, and credulity on the other; and no great harm was there in all this, till at last it brought forth extreme unction in these parts of Christendom. For the same policy that had kept up the right of anointing the sick, upon the foundation of believing that it was good for their bodies, would, when that could hold no longer, lay another, *viz.* that at least it was very good for their souls; and that when it did not recover the health of the sick, yet at least it had a wonderful virtue to save the soul of the dying; which pretence had some advantages to keep up the ceremony of anointing the sick, that the former had not, and all that it had. Here was enough to entertain the zeal of well-meaning people, and which was something more, here was new comfort too, for the slothful and licentious. And in an age so ignorant and barbarous as the eleventh and twelfth ages were, it was easy to make this persuasion go down: and though unction did not save the soul, yet if the priest said it did, he was not so liable to be confuted, as when they said it was good for restoring health, though the patient died of his disease directly after.

But another thing which made the entrance of extreme unction more easy and unsuspected, was the advantage of time, and the notable preparations that made way for it to come in gradually and insensibly, and without the noise that violent and sudden alterations make. By the forms of unction that obtained in the tenth age, it appears that they applied it to

the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, the lips, the breast, and this with reference to the sins that had been committed by seeing, hearing, &c. Thus in Ratoldus's form :* “ I anoint thy eyes with sanctified oil, that whatever sin thou hast committed by unlawful seeing may be expiated by the anointing of this oil ;” the intention of which kind of forms is sufficiently explained by that which follows :† “ I anoint thee, &c. that by the operation of this mystery, and the unction of this holy oil, and our prayer, thou being relieved and cherished mayest through the Holy Spirit be so happy as to obtain thy former and better health.” By which it is highly reasonable to say, that the anointing the senses, and the several remarkable parts of the body, with reference to the sins of the sick person, did itself refer to the recovery of his health ; and that the sickness being supposed to be sent for the punishment of some sin or other, they made sure to deprecate all they could think of, that the sin being forgiven, the sickness might be removed. This form, as Menardus‡ shews, was written in the tenth age, as that which was taken out of Tilius's library was in the eleventh, and that of the monastery of St. Remigius between the tenth and eleventh. They are all of the same strain ;§ and that which I note from them is this, that the plentiful care that is taken in them, for the deprecation of the guilt of all kinds of sin, made the whole ceremony look something like anointing for the cleansing of the soul, rather than the recovering of the body, though this was the direct intention of the whole ; and so it was not so dangerous a leap in the next age to forget, or at least to take very little notice of the bodily effect which was designed by unction, and to turn the whole mystery into a proper sacrament for the good of the soul ; especially since there were many more words used to express the deprecation of guilt, than in the prayer for recovery of health, though the former was in order to the latter. To this I add also, that in all likelihood this solemn, particular and circumstantial unction of the several parts of the body, and deprecation of the guilt contracted by them, was itself by degrees brought in, to save the credit of unction, under which the sick died or recovered ; I suppose, as certainly as they would have done without it. For that care that was taken to anoint them so formally for those sins which were presumed

* Menardi Notæ in Sacram. Greg. p. 337. [Par. 1642.]

† Ibid. p. 338.

‡ Præf. Menardi in Sac. Gr.

§ Men. Notæ. [Ibid.] p. 140, 334, &c.

to have brought that sickness, made the whole business look as if it were good for the soul at least, whatever became of the body. And thus,

3. About the twelfth age came extreme unction into the world, for we can hear no tidings of it from any of the former. And it is therefore no primitive practice, as the first unction of the sick was, nor ancient practice, as the second was; but an innovation that crept in when the middle ages of the Church were now advancing apace to the last. It was begotten in that thick night of ignorance and barbarism, that shuffled this and some other children of darkness into the Western Church. It was licked into some shape, and brought to a form of doctrine by the Schoolmen; and being almost grown to what it now is, it was publicly owned by Eugenius IV. at the close of the Florentine Synod, in the year 1438, to be the fifth sacrament; and in the next age came to be established under anathemas by the Fathers of Trent.

And now if we compare these three several unctions of the sick, one with another, the differences will appear to be these:

The ancient unction did indeed agree with the primitive one in this, that both were applied for the recovery of bodily health: but then in this they differed, as we observed before, that the primitive unction was applied but to some sick persons, and that by the direction and impulse of the Holy Spirit; but the ancient unction was applied to all the sick, and grew to be a settled office in the Church; and therefore there was this difference also, that by the primitive unction all were restored to health who were anointed; not so by the ancient one; and if a man may freely speak his mind, it had just such a supernatural effect upon the bodies of the sick, as the new unction of the Roman Church has upon the souls of the dying, that is, none at all.

This new unction, which they call extreme, is vastly different from the ancient one in many points, some of which I shall briefly represent in that order wherein Mr. Daille* has more largely considered them.

1. The end of the ancient unction was the recovery of bodily health; but the end of extreme unction is to prepare the soul for its passage into the other life. This was one of the ancient forms of unction. “I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; that by the operation of this mystery, being cherished, thou

* Ubi supra, cap. 18.

mayest be so happy as to obtain thy former and better health.”* But in the Roman Church this is all, “By this holy unction, and by his most holy mercy, God forgive thee whatsoever sin thou hast committed, by seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and touching. Amen.”

2. There is a great difference also, touching the persons anointed, which according to the Roman unction, are those only who are baptized, and amongst these none but the sick, and of these only the adult, and such as are in all appearance dying persons. But it was quite otherwise in the ancient Church. For they anointed those that were “preparing for baptism;”† they anointed those that were *possessed*;‡ they anointed *infants*,§ and, which is the most remarkable difference of all, they anointed not dying persons, but the sick, of whose recovery they had reasonable hopes; as we have proved before. The ancient unction in all these respects being suitable to the end of it, which was bodily health, as the Roman unction is in every one of them accommodated to its pretence of being a sacrament for the forgiving of sins, and the saving of the soul.

3. Accordingly the ancient || unction was applied to those parts of the body, as near as they could, which were the seat of the disease; but the Roman unction pretending to purify the soul, is applied to the five senses, to the feet and the reins, as to the seats of sin.

4. The ancients¶ anointed for seven days together, plainly thereby intimating the hope they had of doing good upon the patient, by repetition of the remedy. The Romanists anoint but once in a disease, and this according to the order of the Council of Trent.

5. The ancients first anointed, then gave the eucharist: first they tried the remedy for the body, then they gave the *viaticum* for the soul. The Romanists make their unction the last of all the sacraments, doing thereby agreeably to their practice, which is to anoint for the cleansing of the soul, when there is now little or no hope of the body.

6. Lastly, the unction of the ancients might be adminis-

* Vide Menardi Notæ in Sacram. Greg. [ut supra] p. 341. Vide etiam Vetustiores Formulas in Cassandr. Schol. in Hymn. Eccl. p. 288. [Par. 1616.] † Innoc. 3. ubi supra.

‡ Beda in Jac. 5. [vol. 5. p. 293. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

§ Cassand. Schol. in Hymn. Eccl. [ut supra] p. 289.

|| Cassand. ubi supra, p. 288.

¶ Menard, ubi supra.

tered by lay persons ; but the Roman sacrament must not be applied by any but by a presbyter at least. To which I add, that,

It agrees with the ancient unction in that point only, wherein the ancient differs from the primitive, *i. e.* that whereas the primitive unction was directed by the Spirit ; on the other hand, as the ancient unction was under a settled office for the anointing of all the sick, so the Roman unction is reduced also to a settled office for the anointing of all (with such restrictions as we observed before) that are desperately sick, or dying.

And thus the ancient unction agrees with the primitive, as a mixed colour does with white ; but there is no more likeness between the primitive and the Roman unction, than there is between white and black. Thus much for the occasions, the time, and the nature of that change which has been made in this matter of the unction of the sick.

SECT. VIII.

That this innovation was not universal, the Unction of the Greek Church at this day being not Extreme Unction, but that of the Ancients.

BELLARMINE concludes his argument from the tradition of the ancients, with the testimony of the Greek Church,* “which,” he says, “is to have its weight, because since it appears that the Greeks received not their rites from the Roman Church, at least for five hundred years last past, since they were separated from it, it is certain that those things in which they agree, are more ancient than the schisms and heresies which arose afterwards.” Now that consequence which the Cardinal here affirms to be *certain*, is most certainly false, unless it be impossible that two Churches which are fallen out, should afterwards agree in the same innovation for reasons either common to both, or peculiar to each, and this without any agreement in those things which first made the breach between them.

But that which he supposes, is as false, *viz.* that extreme unction has the testimony of the Greek Church. For his first proof of it is a shameless falsehood, *viz.* that “the Greeks

* Ubi supra, Sect. Accedat denique, &c.

did without contradiction receive the instruction of the Armenians, where extreme unction is numbered amongst other sacraments." For it appears plainly by the acts of the Florentine Synod, that the Greeks were gone from Florence four months before that instruction was given by the Pope to the Armenians.

As for the Patriarch Jeremy and his other authors, it is true indeed, they attest the unction of the sick in the Greek Church, and that with them it goes for one of their sacraments. But that it is extreme unction, we utterly deny. And to shew the Cardinal's confidence, it will be enough to produce the testimony of one of his authors, Simeon Thessalonicensis, as he is quoted by that Latinizing Greek Arcudius* himself: "Here another opinion of the innovating Latins is overthrown; for these men say, that the holy oil ought not to be given to those that have hope of life, but to those that are dying, because it confers remission of sins; judging and practising quite contrary to what the Apostle says, as in all other things, so also in this. For whereas the brother of our Lord cries out, 'And the Lord shall raise him up;' these men say it is to be given to those who are not raised up." And again, "The Latins who innovate in all things, have corrupted this rite also, and say it is not to be applied to the sick, but to the dying. For because this sacrament forgives sins, it must be so, lest the person recovering should sin again. O what a madness is this! The brother of our Lord saith, 'That the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.' But these men say, that he should die. There is no stopping them, you see, that are tumbling down a precipice. 'And if he has committed sins, they shall be forgiven him;' that is to say, that he may recover his health, and be raised up. And this our Saviour shewed, saying to the man sick of the palsy, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee, arise and walk. And, behold thou art made whole; sin no more, lest a worse thing happen to thee.' But these men, contrary to our Saviour and his Apostles, say, that it is not to be given to the sick that they may recover, but to those that are to die." Is not this an admirable testimony to extreme unction? I know Arcudius was very angry with this author, and took a vast deal of pains to bring the two Churches together in this point; but it is like the labour of making iron and clay hold

* Arcud. de Extr. Unct. cap. 7. Sect. His ita, &c.

together, when the applying of more strength makes them fall asunder the faster.

For which I shall not desire the reader to take my word, but to judge between Arcudius and Simeon, by the Greek Ritual itself; to which I appeal the more willingly, because the Cardinal also was so hardy as to appeal to it.*

The form of unction in that book has this title,† “The office of holy oil sung by seven priests, assembled in the Church, or in a house.” The prayers and songs which express their intention are such as these:‡ “ My Saviour and only God, who in mercy and compassion healest the sufferings of souls, and the wounds of bodies, do thou restore health to this person afflicted with diseases. By the streams of thy mercy, and the anointings of thy priests, do away the pains, and the illness, and the growing languishment of this person, who is subdued by the distress of his sufferings, that being recovered, he may glorify thee with thanks.” These and the like prayers, I say, shew the intention of anointing the sick in that Church, as the Ritual itself speaks in these words: “ Regard favourably our prayers who meet in thy holy temple this day to anoint thy infirm persons with holy oil.”§ This goes before the consecration of the oil. But after that,|| “ the priest takes the holy oil and anoints him that is to receive the unction, and is to be prayed for, saying the following prayer: Holy Father, the physician of souls and bodies, who didst send thy only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, healing every disease, and redeeming us from death, heal this thy servant of his bodily and spiritual disease which has laid hold upon him, and revive him through the grace of thine anointed, by the intercessions of our holy Lady, the mother of God, &c. By the protection of the heavenly incorporeal powers, by the virtue of the precious and life-giving Cross—of John the Baptist—the Apostles, the Martyrs—and our godlike Fathers, the holy physicians that received no fees, Cosmas and Damian, Cyrus and John, Pantaleon and Hermolaus,” &c.

In this prayer indeed here is a great deal of wretched stuff of another kind; but not a word that looks toward extreme unction; the whole relating to the intention of the ancient unction, which was to recover the sick; and therefore the priest pleads in particular the intercession of those saints that

* Ubi supra.

† Ibid. p. 411.

‡ Euchologium, Goar. p. 408. [Lut. Par. 1647.]

§ Ibid. p. 412.

|| Ibid. p. 417.

were said to have been particularly famous for the cure of diseases. And that which is remarkable in the case, is this, that the Rubric requires every one of the other six priests, when he anoints the sick, to use this very prayer; which plainly shews that every one of them anoints for the same end and purpose. Neither is it any advantage towards the Roman pretence, that the priest prays also for the cure of the spiritual infirmity which holds the sick person; it being evident, as Simeon Thessalonicensis observes, "that the disease of the body being inflicted for the sin of the soul, the cause is to be removed, that the effect may cease." Nor indeed is it fit that we should pray for any blessing of this life, without imploring God's pardon of those sins which make us unworthy of it.

At length the second priest prays, "O God, great and high, who art adored by every creature, &c. look upon and hearken unto us thy unworthy servants, and when in thy name we bring forth this oil, do thou send forth the medicines of thy free gift, and the pardon of sins, and according to the multitude of thy mercies heal these persons,"* &c.

Then the third priest to the same purpose: "Almighty Lord, holy King, who dost chastise and not deliver to death, who supportest those that fall, and settest straight those that are broken, and repairest the bodily infirmities of men, we beseech thee, O our God, to send forth thy mercy upon this oil, and upon those that are anointed with it in thy name, that it may become to them the healing both of soul and body, their deliverance from all grief, and every disease and malady; and lastly, from all defilement of flesh and spirit. So Lord, send thou from heaven thy healing virtue: do thou touch the body, extinguish the fever, mitigate the pain, and expel every hidden infirmity. Be thou the physician of this thy servant; raise him up from the bed of grief, and the couch of sickness. Be pleased to restore him safe and every way healthy to thy Church, to please thee, and to do thy will."†

Of the same nature are the prayers of the following priests; this being repeated after every Gospel in each administration: "We still pray for mercy, life, peace, health, and deliverance."

I shall only add the beginning of the prayer offered by the fourth priest; because it shews how that Church understands the place of St. James so often mentioned:‡ "Lord, who art

* Ibid. p. 418.

† Ib. p. 420.

‡ Ib. p. 421.

good, and the lover of mankind, the God of tender compassion and great mercy, &c. who by thy holy Apostles hast given us authority to undertake the cure of the infirmities of thy people, do thou also cause this oil to be a means of healing all those that are to be anointed with it, to be a remedy against every disease, and every malady, and a deliverance from evils to those that expect health from thee," &c.

For by this it appears that the Greeks, as the ancients did, understand St. James's unction to be the same with that of the Apostles in St. Mark, and consequently refer it to bodily cures : and that they ground their authority to anoint the sick in order to bodily health, upon these places of Scripture so understood. And now I shall make bold to say, that there is nothing in their whole " office of holy oil," that does in the least favour extreme unction ; but take it all together, it is in effect a flat contradiction to it. And therefore to make it look a little Roman like, the Latin translator (Father Goar by name) has falsified the Rubric before the prayer that is to be repeated by every priest, and with very convenient impudence rendered it thus :* " And after the prayer (of consecration) the priest taketh the holy oil, and anointeth him that receiveth EXTREME UNCTION, saying the following prayer." Whereas he ought to have translated it thus ;— " and anointeth him that waiteth there for unction and prayer :" not, " that receiveth extreme unction," as the false translator would have it.† Other prevarications of less moment, I have observed, whereby he has shewn a good will to bend the office by translation, even where he could get next to nothing by it. But if testimonies are not to be had, and yet men will not be content without them, there is no help for it, but they must be made.

And now I may leave any one to judge between Simeon and Arcadius, who is the true and who the false Greek ; and likewise between Bellarmine and me, whether the testimony of the Greek Church be for or against extreme unction.

The truth is, though the Greek Church hath in some things

* Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν λαμβάνει ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἀγίου ἔλαιου, καὶ χρίει τὸν πιοῦντα τὸ εὐχέλαιον, λέγων τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην. So is the Greek Rubric ; but Goar renders it, Et post orationem accipit sacerdos sanctum oleum, et extremam unctionem suscipientem ungit, sequentem orationem dicens. [Ibid.] p. 417.

† Orat. Tert. Sac. [Ibid. p. 420.] 'Ο τὰς σωματικὰς θλίψεις διορθούμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων is translated, Qui corporeas hominum infirmitates in utilitatem eorum disponis, whereas διορθούμενος signifies here, *afficta reparans*, as it is translated above.

innovated no less than the Roman, yet in others she has kept to ancient tradition, where the Roman has not ; and of this their unction is one notable instance, which is apparently that unction which began to take place in the seventh age after Christ. But the Roman unction is so far from having primitive tradition, that it is not so much as an ancient innovation, as the unction of the Greek Church is. It is a corruption that came into these parts of the world, but lately in comparison ; and as it has no antiquity, so it never had universality ; and, by the grace of God, we hope it never shall.

PART III.

THAT THE APPEAL TO REASON IN BEHALF OF THIS PRETENDED SACRAMENT IS ALTOGETHER VAIN.

SECT. I.

That the Pretence to prove any thing to be a Sacrament by mere Reason, is an absurd Presumption.

LASTLY, It is proved by reason, that extreme unction is a sacrament. And this proof, is a reason taken from Divine Providence, which, as the Cardinal notes, the Council of Trent used before him. He argues thus :* “ Since our Lord instituted sacraments, by which, as by divine aids, we should be assisted in our entrance into the Church, and in our progress in it ; surely it is by no means to be believed, that his Divine Providence has been wanting in our going out, and passing from this temporal militant Church, to the other that is everlasting ; especially, since a man is never in greater want of help and defence, than in the article of death, as the Fathers teach every where, &c. For then our adversaries assail us more powerfully, because they see their time is short ; and man himself is never more unfit to make resistance, by reason of the greatness of his pains and sickness. For if this corrup-

* Bell. ubi supra, cap. 5. Sect. Accedit ultimo, etc.

tible body is a burden to the soul, even in its best estate of health; surely, in the very act of corruption it will be the heaviest weight of all; and experience itself shews, that the sick who are dying can hardly so much as lift up their minds to God."

He had tried the Scripture before; he had also tried antiquity; and now at last he comes with an argument distinct from all testimony, which he calls reason; and which is therefore mere reason, because it is opposed to all testimony.

Now to this arguing, I have two things to say: 1. That to pretend the proof of a sacrament by mere reason, is itself a most unreasonable thing. 2. That if this way were allowable, yet the reasoning insinuated by the Council, and more distinctly explained by the Cardinal, is weak and trifling.

First, That to pretend the proof of a sacrament by mere reason is a most unreasonable pretence. For sacraments cannot otherwise be proved, than by testimonies of Divine revelation, because they depend upon institution.

The definition of a sacrament in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, is this: * "A sacrament is a thing subject to the senses, which by the INSTITUTION OF GOD, has the power both to signify, and to effect holiness and righteousness." This definition is † praised by the Cardinal, and that for comprehending in few words, those eight points which himself had shewed before to belong to the nature of a sacrament. ‡ One of those points was this, that a sacrament is a voluntary or given sign, depending upon institution. And this he affirmed to be a point which no one person contradicts, and that the thing loudly speaks itself. Now I would know how it is possible to prove by mere reason, that God has instituted any thing, which to institute, or not to institute, depended upon his own pleasure. Those things indeed, which to do, or not to do, is inconsistent with the nature of God, we may know by mere natural reason: but that such reason can find out those things of God, which depended upon his will and pleasure, or that reason should be able to prove them otherwise than by testimonies of revelation, is a discovery that I believe was never heard of before. St. Paul, I am sure, was quite of another mind. § "For," says he, "what man knoweth the things of

* Catech. ad Paroc. part 11. sect. 1. n. 10. [p. 130. Mechlin. 1831.]

† De Sacram. in genere, lib. 1. cap. 11. Sect. Quinta definitio, etc.

‡ Ibid. et cap. 9. Sect. Tertium est ut hoc, &c.

§ 1 Cor. ii. 11.

a man, save the spirit of man, which is in him ? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.” Which maxim the Apostle used in a discourse against the Greek philosophers, and therefore could not be thought to support the credit of it by his authority, but to lay it down as a point evident to common reason. Since therefore sacraments properly so called, do by the confession of the Church of Rome, stand upon institution, and depend upon the free will and pleasure of God ; the very pretence to prove extreme unction to be a sacrament by reason, abstracted from divine testimonies, must needs be absurd ; if absurd it be, to go about a thing that is impossible to be done, even by that man’s principles who pretends to do it ; especially, if those principles are so clear and evident, that “ no one person contradicts them.”

But this pretence of the Cardinal might be easily forgiven, if it were not as arrogant and presumptuous as it is absurd. For to conclude, that in matters depending upon the pleasure of God, he hath done that which seemeth best to our reason ; is to suppose that in these things we know what is best, no less than God doth ; that we have weighed all the conveniences and inconveniences of either side, the advantages and disadvantages of every thing that lies before us ; the arguments for, and the objections against this or that, with the same exactness, wherein they are comprehended in his infinite understanding. The Cardinal might as well have said in plain terms, God ought to have instituted the sacrament of extreme unction ; and therefore he has done it. For he tells us, that “ it is by no means to be believed, that his Divine Providence has been wanting in our going out of this militant Church,” &c.* If therefore God has not instituted the sacrament of extreme unction, to convey us safely out of this world, it is to be believed that he hath been wanting to his Church ; but it is not to be believed that he hath been wanting, because he ought not so to be, and therefore he hath instituted that sacrament. Which arguing has not the least appearance of sense without the help of another proposition, which gives it more than the appearance of blasphemy, that it is by no means to be believed that God is wiser than a Cardinal or a Council.

Indeed, when once the institutions of God are revealed and testified to us, we must not only conclude, that they are wise

* Certe nullo modo credendum est defuisse Divinam ejus Providentiam, &c.

and good because they are his, but we ought also to take notice of those footsteps of Divine wisdom and goodness which are discernible in them. And the more that a wise man considers and understands their ends and usefulness; the more worthy of their Author he will find them to be. But their congruity to our reason is not the proof of their Divine institution, since there are very many things which to our finite understandings would appear as useful and as reasonable, but which yet God hath not instituted. And therefore, unless we know all those relations of things to one another, which God only knows, when we consider the mysteries of religion ; we ought to conclude that he hath appointed what is best for us, not so much because of that wisdom and goodness which we discern in his institutions, though we are able to discover a great deal, as because these institutions are his.

I am sure that our Lord instituted two sacraments for his Church, baptism and the eucharist. I see clearly, that as they were accommodated to some customs of the Jewish Church, to which the Gospel was first to be preached, so in all respects that I can think of they are wisely contrived for the Christians of the Gentiles too ; that they signify the most important duties and motives of the Gospel, and that their signification is easy and obvious ; that they represent the greatest grace of God towards sinners in this life, and this by very lively and instructing signs ; that they are framed to quicken a reasonable service of God, to excite a wise devotion in the people, and to command humble reverence from all ; that there is nothing wanting in them to admonish us of our great obligations, and to give comfort where comfort is due, by being pledges to us of that grace which they signify, if we apply ourselves to that duty which they signify too. Lastly, that they are accommodated to our imperfect state, who are clothed with this flesh and blood, and seem to need therefore some sensible and solemn mysteries to assist that vital and spiritual part of religion, which begins in the soul, and runs through the life : but yet that they are not so many as to amuse a Christian with an outward pomp, or to be an occasion of diverting him from the inward worship of God, or of abating the sense of that pure and undefiled religion before God, which consists in a life of charity and purity.

There are very many advantages and conveniences which I discern in these two sacraments, now that they are established by the authority of our Lord Jesus. But if there had not been

good proof of their institution, I trust in God that all the reasons of convenience which the wit of man could have brought together, should never have carried me to this saucy conclusion, therefore God hath appointed these two rites to be sacraments in his Church, for the signifying and conveying of his grace to sinners.

Even where the appointments of God are evident, that wisdom and goodness which I can discover in them is not the proper ground of my assurance that he hath established them, for that is no other than the evidence of the institution. Nor can that discovery alone give me the least assurance, that in making such provision he hath not been wanting to our needs; for the reason of that assurance is this, that it is He, it is God, I say, that hath made such provision for us.

When it once appears what God hath instituted in order to our salvation, and no more, we are to conclude that this is enough in its kind, because it is all that God hath done. But for that other kind of arguing, that God has been wanting to us in his institutions if he has not instituted extreme unction, and therefore he has instituted it; I leave it to those whose conclusions need it; very much desiring them to consider what a cause that must be which drives them to such bold reasonings as these. For, as St. Paul saith, “who hath known the mind of the Lord that he may instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.”*

SECT. II.

That the Reason brought to prove that Extreme Unction was fit to be instituted, has not so much as any probability.

BUT, secondly, If it were an allowable way to conclude a Divine institution from what appears to us fit to have been instituted, yet the reason of this kind used by Bellarmine and the Council of Trent, in behalf of extreme unction, has not so much as the face of probability.

It was rather a just indignation, than the need of using many words to make the thing plain, that held me so long in the former answer: and it is such another excuse that I must make for insisting at all upon this. For if it be in itself absurd and a dishonourable reflection upon Almighty God, to pretend

* 1 Cor. ii. 16.

to prove sacraments by mere natural reasonings, then how plausible soever those reasonings may seem to be, they deserve no other answer than silence and contempt. But there is this temptation to say something to them, if it be but to shew, that when men will go about to make themselves, as these men in effect have done, as wise as God, they are so far from speaking wisdom, that they do but betray their own folly and weakness. I shall therefore shew these two things : 1. That the Cardinal's reasoning for the institution of extreme unction from the congruity of the thing, is mean and trifling. 2. That if this point were to go by arguing from congruities, there are much more plausible things to be said against it, than he has produced for it.

His reason from the congruity of the thing, in short, is this, that because we have one sacrament to assist us in our entrance into the Church, and some others in our progress in it, therefore it is not to be believed that God should be so wanting to us, as not to add yet another to assist us in going out of this militant Church, because then we have the greatest need of a sacrament. But this reasoning is liable to many troublesome objections.

1. Whereas a reason to prove that God hath instituted a certain sacrament, because otherwise he had been wanting to us in our need ; whereas such a reason, I say, ought to be of the plainest and most convincing kind ; this is very far from it : being founded upon a mere analogy, and that a congruity rather of words than things. There is one sacrament to let us in, and others to carry us on, and therefore there must be yet another to bring us off. This is what the Cardinal calls reason, but in truth it looks more like the wantonness of a fancy that cannot be quiet without two sets of things to make a handsome figure one against another ; that as there is entering in, and going on, and passing out on the one side, so there may be a figure of three kinds of sacraments to answer those three states on the other. If it be said, that the force of the argument lies in the great danger we are in when death is at hand ; I answer, that does by no means imply the need of a proper sacrament to assist in that danger. For if God pleases, he can then give sufficient assistance without any sacrament at all ; or if he intended to assist by a sacrament, there is, I am sure, nothing in the nature of the thing to hinder, but that he may assist by the reception of the eucharist at the hour of death, though it be not a sacrament proper to the dying.

And if this be true, there is nothing in the argument, why God must needs have appointed extreme unction for the dying ; but that the number *three* ought to go round, for the pleasing of their imaginations, who are entertained to their liking more with regular figures and analogies, than with substantial and useful truth.

I confess, I am not very much concerned to see men take these pretty congruities, and make them reasons for what they do themselves, provided they will rest there, and not make them rules for what God Almighty does. When Simeon Thessalonicensis* tells us, why in the Greek Church there are seven priests to anoint the sick, *viz.* because of all the *sevens* that he could readily think of, I am very well content ; for it being indifferent whether there were seven priests or not, an indifferent reason, I thought, would serve the turn one way or other. But it is not to be endured to put these pretty arguings upon the infinite wisdom of God, by obliging him to appoint sacraments for the sake of fanciful and neat analogies.

2. To make this analogy hold, the Cardinal did not think fit to mention some of the sacraments of his Church, some of those I mean that are for the aiding of us in our progress after baptism as they hold ; for in this whole chapter he mentions none of these but the eucharist. Now with them there are seven in all, *i.e.* five between the first and the last ; from which five indeed he might well have excepted holy matrimony and holy orders, because according to them, these two can never meet to the assistance of the same persons in their progress through the world, and because they are not necessary to all. But the sacraments of confirmation and penance being added to the eucharist, do certainly make three for our progress in the Church. Nor can I imagine why those two were not remembered, but for fear of spoiling the handsomeness of the analogy, and of raising an expectation of more than one sacrament proper for us in our egress out of the militant Church ; especially, since our dangers are said to be then greater, and our strength to encounter them less than in the whole course of our life besides. The truth is, if the institution of sacraments must be thought to go by such congruities as these, it would be impossible for men to agree about the number and the use of sacraments, till they all agree in the same fancies of congruity. And yet nothing in the world seems to have greater variety than fancy has.

* Arcud. ubi supra, cap. 3.

3. If there were some colour of argument in a handsome congruity, yet in one that is strained and forced, there is none at all. For such is the congruity of being furnished with a sacrament for our going out, as we are with a sacrament for our entering into the Church. If the opposition had been natural, either baptism must have received us into the life of this world, as extreme unction is intended to secure our passage out of it ; or extreme unction must send us out of the Church, as baptism does enter us into it. No man will say the former, nor Bellarmine the latter ; and therefore he was fain to add the consideration of the Church's militancy in this life, to save himself from the absurdity of making extreme unction the sacrament of our going out of the Church, as baptism is the sacrament of our entrance into it. But then this spoils the congruity of the opposition ; for he that is baptized, does thereby become a member of that Church, part whereof is in heaven ; but he that is anointed with extreme unction, does not thereby, no, not when he dies, cease to be a member of that Church, part whereof is upon earth ; if he dies in the Lord. And therefore it cannot be said that he goes out of the Church by death, as he entered into it by baptism : for by death itself he makes a farther progress in it.

Besides, the effect of baptism is this, that thereby we were actually admitted into the Church : but is it the effect of extreme unction to pass us out of the militant Church ? It is the sacrament of the dying, they say ; but what effect has it, if the sick person happens to recover after anointing ? Did his anointing assist him in his passage out of this world, though he tarried in it still ? Or is it only a sacrament that confers the grace proper to it, and is good for its end, if there be occasion for it ? Or a sacrament by itself, that, when it happens to do no good, will be sure to do no harm ? It is a dangerous thing to lay any great weight upon these slender congruities.

And therefore dismissing the analogy of extreme unction to baptism and the eucharist, and the congruity of providing a sacrament for our egress, to answer the sacraments of ingress and progress, we have nothing to consider, but the single congruity of providing sufficient assistance for the faithful, in so dangerous an hour as the hour of death. But to this also I have spoken already ; and shall now add,

1. That we do not in the least doubt, but as God is present with his faithful servants in all conditions of life, to deliver

them out of temptation, so he will not forsake them in the hour of death, nor then suffer them to be tempted above what they are able ; but we say, that this does not infer any the least need, or even congruity, that he should therefore institute a sacrament proper for the comfort and assistance of the dying ; since, if he is pleased upon our prayer to give the assistance of his Holy Spirit in that case without such a sacrament, our needs in that time of danger are as effectually supplied, as if such a sacrament had been added. And therefore Chemnitius did well to say, that other guards and defences are not to be sought for the dying, than those that are provided for the living ; *viz.* the word of God, the remembrance of baptism, and the reception of the eucharist, which are all profitable to the dying. And Bellarmine* did very ill to answer, that at this rate there would be no need of the eucharist after baptism. For in order to the receiving of divine grace, we must observe divine institutions. God was not bound to institute sacraments for us, and I think no man will deny, but if he had pleased, he could have saved us without them ; but when he has once instituted them, we are bound to observe them, if we expect grace to help us in the time of our need.

2. If it were true that a sufficient aid could not be provided in the dangerous hour of death, but by a sacrament proper and special to the case, such as extreme unction is supposed to be ; then they of the Church of Rome must either say, that God has been wanting to those dying persons for whom he has not provided such a remedy, or else that themselves are horribly to blame in refusing it to them. For they do not administer extreme unction, but to those that are dying of sickness ; for if a man is to die a violent death, or be in imminent danger of death any other way than by a disease ; according to their doctrine and practice, he is not to be anointed with extreme unction. But if it be the proper guard of the dying, all reason in the world requires that it should be administered to the latter, no less than the former. They that are to die a violent death, need support and comfort not less, but rather more than those that are dying a natural death, as we used to call it ; and they are every whit as capable of the spiritual advantages of the pretended sacrament, as these are ; and one would think, something more than many of them. For we are told, that† “because in

* Ubi supra, cap. 5. [p. 710. col. 2.]

† Bell. ubi supra.

passing out of this world there are special difficulties, therefore our Lord has instituted a special help and defence; chiefly because it often happens that they who are drawing on can neither hear the word of exhortation, nor receive the eucharist, being oppressed by their disease, and deprived of the use of their senses; but they may be anointed and receive the fruits of this sacrament. Now what the spiritual dangers or difficulties are or can be, of those who have thus far safely advanced towards their end, as to be deprived of the use of their senses, I am not able to imagine; for it seems evident to me, that if through the grace of God, they have to that moment well acquitted themselves, the devil may from that time be suffered to do his worst upon them, nor can there be any need of extreme unction to guard and fortify them, who now are out of all danger of their spiritual enemies. But those who are yet in their full health, and know they must die by violence in a few minutes, though they are subject to the terrors of death, and capable of receiving comforts against it; though they understand their own needs, and can submit to remedies; must, it seems, be left without this special guard of extreme unction; while they are to be anointed, and to receive the fruit of this sacrament, who are past all apprehension of any thing that can be said or done to them, and in all appearance are as incapable of receiving any benefit by it, as if they were stark dead. But this I confess, that there is a notable congruity between the supposed need of the dying persons last mentioned by the Cardinal, and the supposed remedy. For extreme unction will do just as much good to the souls of the faithful who are deprived of the use of their senses, as their adversary the devil can do them harm.

SECT. III.

That more congruous reasoning may be offered against it, than for it.

2. If this point were to go by such arguings, there are more plausible things to be said against it, than those which the Cardinal has produced for it. What he has offered we have seen already. Now it seems to be much more substantial to argue in this manner against this pretended sacrament for the dying.

1. That there was nothing like it in the Jewish Church,

who yet had abundance of rites and ceremonies instituted for them by God himself. Now if it had been of such mighty consequence as is pretended, that dying persons should be provided with a sacrament proper to their case, it is not to be believed, but that God would have furnished that people, of whom he took an especial care, with something of this kind; especially, since their religion had a vast number of institutions. They had rites instituted by God himself, which may be said to answer our baptism and eucharist; but they had none to pass them safely out of this world, to answer our pretence of extreme unction. And yet their dying needs were the same with ours, their sickness as painful, and their temptations as many; nor can any reason be assigned, why they should not have been provided with a proper sacrament in the case, as well as we. But yet no such provision was made for them. And therefore it should seem that no such provision was made for us neither. For if they had no need of such a thing, neither should it be thought needful for us.

2. There is farther to be said from the reason of the thing, that a sacrament proper for dying persons would be more liable to be abused by placing too much confidence in it, than any other institution whatsoever. For those careless and licentious persons who are apt to rely more than they ought even upon baptism and the eucharist, which are manifest engagements to a holy life for the time to come, would much more easily persuade themselves, that a sacrament proper to their dying hour, and which could have no respect to any duty to be performed by them afterwards must be of no other use in comparison, than to take away the guilt and impurity which they had contracted heretofore: which would be a dangerous temptation and encouragement to live as they list, in hope of making all good at last by a repentance, and by a sacrament proper to a death-bed. It seems therefore reasonable to believe (if people will be so bold as to make reasons for God) that what assistance God would afford by a sacrament in the case of a dying man, should be conferred by means of a sacrament not proper to a dying man, but one of constant use in the course of his life, *viz.* the eucharist, which being also a sacrament no less signifying our own duty than the grace of God, would not so easily be turned into an occasion of presumption. For because it is a sacrament that was frequently to be received in the time of health, therefore when sick persons receive it, they must be very stupid to

think it has any other kind of efficacy at that time, than when they received it in their health, that is to say than a conditional efficacy, conveying to them the grace which it signifies, upon their being qualified as the sacrament supposes them to be. But a sacrament for the dying, has not its efficacy till a little before death ; and therefore seems not to have much respect to conditions, but rather looks like a reserve to secure those at last, who have not lived answerably to the sacraments, that promised nothing but upon the condition of a sober, righteous, and godly life, for the time to come.

But after all, had it pleased God to institute extreme unction, or any other sacrament proper for the dying, I am not the wretch that would have laid the least weight upon these reasonings against the divine institution. Nor do I now offer them as arguments to prove that God hath not instituted any such thing (for the true ground upon which we affirm there was no such institution, is, that there is not the least evidence of the fact), but only to shew that the Cardinal was not less unfortunate in his reasonings themselves, why God ought to have instituted extreme unction, than presumptuous in offering to prove it, by any such reasonings whatsoever : for though presumptions of this kind are not to be brought either for or against an institution under question, yet the presumptions on our side are much more reasonable than those of his.

SECT. IV.

An apology for this controversy about Extreme Unction, from the great moment of it.

BUT now perhaps it may be asked by one or other, to what good end all this serves ? Why must it be made to appear that Scripture, reason and antiquity, are all vainly pretended in behalf of extreme unction ? The opinion and practice of it does not stand in defiance to any institution of our Saviour, or any express rule of the Gospel, and might therefore without great harm be indulged, at least not opposed, now it has spread as far and wide as the Roman communion goes ; especially since we charge them with so many doctrines and practices, which, as we say, do manifestly contradict the Scriptures ? To insist upon small faults, is to heighten animosities, and to make our breaches desperate. And while we charge our adversaries with innovation in the use they make of an ancient rite, as

unction of the sick is confessed to be, they have this at least to return upon us, that we are guilty of as great an innovation in making no use of it at all.

Now as to letting the dispute fall, there had been some reason for it, if the Church of Rome had either kept to the ancient unction, which directly referred to bodily cures; or if when they were perhaps grown ashamed of anointing the sick for the recovery of their health, after long experience had shewn that the remedy was all in vain; if then, I say, they had retained the rite of unction under the notion of a rite merely standing upon ecclesiastical authority, and whatsoever plausible signification they had given it; if they bad ascribed no more spiritual effect to it than to the observation of any other mutable custom of the Church; had they ordered matters thus, and not intermeddled against the liberty and authority of other Churches, I for my part am of opinion, that neither breach of communion ought to have followed such a provision, nor any such controversies raised about it, as would hazard the peace of the catholic Church.

But the matter is far otherwise. They thought it not worth the while, to retain it as a mutable rite, but have given it the venerable name of a sacrament, and as much as they can, the nature of a sacrament too. They have found out a grace for it, which they say it confers, and they have put the invention upon our Lord Jesus, and the recognition of it upon the Christian world. They have anathematized all that dare to call it into question; nor are they content to train up their own people in the belief that it takes away sin, but they would make us such hypocrites as to say that we believe it too; for with these men we can have no communion unless we* profess that there are seven sacraments of the new law, truly and properly so called, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary to the salvation of mankind; of which number extreme unction is one, and that they do confer grace. Thus the case stands, and as it stands, let our enemies themselves be our judges, if the truth be on our side in this question, whether we have not all the reason in the world to avow it openly, and defend it.

Besides that relation of bishops and presbyters to the particular churches that are under their especial care; they are

* Bulla Pii, super Forma Juramenti, &c. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 14. p. 944.]

also ministers of the catholic Church, and by virtue of that relation wherein they stand to the whole, are bound to declare against intolerable abuses and corruptions that do notoriously prevail in any part of it.

There are not many errors of more pernicious consequence to the souls of men, than to be made to believe that forgiveness of sins, grace, and salvation, may be attained by things that are blest by man, without any appointment of God. Nor is it easy to give a worse instance of treachery in managing the care of souls, than to support so dangerous a superstition, by pretending that God is the author of those institutions which he never established, and of those promises which he has nowhere made. What is this but under a pretence of carrying men to heaven, to venture the diverting them out of the only way to it, which God has shewn, and to cherish a fatal superstition in the people, to which of themselves they are strangely prone, instead of reprobating and correcting it, as the priests of the living God ought to do?

It is seldom seen that people are very much concerned for ecclesiastical rites and customs, for which no other reasons are pretended but those of prudence, order and expedience. But when they are made mysteries, good to take away sin, and to save the soul, no degree of zeal is thought to be too great for them. Men love to be saved by a multitude of ceremonies, and a priest to administer them. But surely it is not so much the business of a Christian priest to make himself necessary by deceiving and pleasing others, as to please God, and to profit the flock of Christ. He should be content with so much dependence of the people upon him, as may be kept by speaking truth, and doing his duty. But as for them that do not think this to be enough, but pretend to have ways of God's appointing to take away sin, which yet are mere inventions of their own, do they not at once abuse the name of God, and gratify their own ambition at the price of men's souls? Certainly if any occasion of declaring the truth can be just, even when we know before hand that many will be offended with it; this is such an occasion. Express warning ought to be given against the deceitful insinuations of those men, who talk of nothing more violently than the salvation of souls, and who would almost make one believe that nobody can be saved who does not pass through their hands nor any body damned that does. For if what they say of two of their sacraments be true, the sacraments of penance and of extreme unction, there is as little

cause to fear damnation in their Church, as they say there is to hope for salvation in ours. Of confession in penance they say thus,* “granting that sins are blotted out by contrition, who knows not that it ought to be so vehement, pungent and intense, that the bitterness of the grief may equal the greatness of the sins? But because very few would reach this degree, therefore the number of those that could hope for the pardon of their sins this way, must have been exceeding small. Whence it was necessary that our most merciful Lord should provide for the common salvation of men by an easier method, as he has done with admirable wisdom, in delivering to the Church the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For according to the doctrine of the catholic faith, all are to believe, and constantly to affirm, that whosoever is so disposed as to be sorry for the sins he has done, and withal, to purpose with himself that he will sin no more, although he is not affected with that grief which may be sufficient to obtain his pardon, yet when he has duly confessed his sins to a priest, all his sins are pardoned and forgiven him by the power of the keys.” This is the doctrine of their famous Catechism; and thus far sufficient care is taken for mortal sins by the sacrament of penance, that they shall be blotted out upon easy terms, if a man does but grieve, and can hold his intention to amend, but so long till he receives absolution. Now this sacrament being† to go before extreme unction, lest the conscience of some mortal sin should hinder the effect of it; the greater sins are therefore all done away not long before the hour of death. And then for the lesser sins‡ and any sins§ that remain yet to be expiated, and the relics of sin, they are forgiven and wiped away by extreme unction. Now if this be true, he must be a very wretch indeed that can desire a milder Gospel, than a Gospel which comes so low as to take some grief and a good resolution for the forgiveness of all that is past. For who is so bad as not to be sorry at certain times, and to intend a new life for the future, especially under the fear of death? But though he should afterwards take leave to retain his sins, yet the priest it seems had power to remit them before, and he has power to remit them so plentifully at last, that no relics

* Catech. ad Par. p. 2. de Pœnit. sect. 46, 47. [p. 266. Mechlin. 1831.]

† Ibid. de Extr. Unct. sect. 23. [p. 299.]

‡ Ibid. sect. 27. [p. 300.]

§ Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. de Extr. Unct. cap. 2. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 14. p. 822.]

of sin shall remain behind, since the sacrament of extreme unction is that which completes and consummates the sacrament of penance.*

And thus it is left to the choice of their people, whether they will live according to that truth which the Church of Rome holds with us, or according to those doctrines which they maintain and we reject; to their choice, I say, for any reason that they have to be afraid of going to hell, if they have but the benefit of the power of the keys, and the virtue of that Church's sacraments. I know indeed that some good things are said by the Council in behalf of reformation of life, particularly in the place last cited, they say, that "the whole Christian life ought to be a perpetual penance;"† they meant, I hope, a state of amendment. But it is a very unlikely matter that men should be persuaded to a holy life, when by those assurances that the Church has given them, they can so easily persuade themselves that they may be saved without it. Nor is it very likely, that many confessors should withhold either the saving use of the keys, or the comfort of that use of them from wicked persons, when they cannot do it without mending the doctrine of their Church. And if any should be so honest, there are yet others to be had, together with the word of the Church, to warrant the effect of the sacraments, against the word of a single priest to the contrary.

Against such abuses as these, we not only may, but ought to protest, if we ought to be concerned for the honour of God, and the souls of men; that we may warn all those of our own communion not to fall from their stedfastness, and if possible, recover those that are led away into these dangerous errors; or have been educated in the belief of them.

SECT. V.

The Church of England, and other Protestant Churches, justified, in not anointing the sick at all.

If it be laid to our charge that we have no unction of the sick, we are very sure that whatever unction of the sick the Church of Rome can tax us for wanting, excepting her own, the charge will fall as heavy upon herself.

We do not anoint the sick as they did in the Primitive

* Ibid. Doctr de Sacr. Extr. Unct. [Ibid. p. 821.]

† Ibid.

Church, because we pretend not to the supernatural gift of healing ; and they anoint the sick for this purpose in the Church of Rome no more than we.

We do not anoint the sick as they began to do in the seventh age, when all sick persons were anointed in order to bodily cures, but not to prepare their souls for death : no more do they of the Church of Rome.

We do not anoint neither with extreme unction, as they indeed do : but the business of this discourse has been to shew, that they ought to do it no more than we.

But the account we have to give of this matter is very plain, and such as will bear us out to any man that asketh us a reason, whoever he be. For of those three unctions, there is no colour to charge us with blame in omitting any of them, excepting the second, which had the authority of the middle ages from the seventh to the twelfth. But that we are under no colour of obligation to be determined by that authority, is plain to us from these three considerations : that it was neither primitive, nor has at any time been universal, nor had they who began it any good reason for what they did, but were themselves to blame for beginning it.

1. It was not primitive, since by anointing all the sick for the recovery of their health, the seventh age departed from the example of the six foregoing ages, which are and ought to be of greater authority than those that followed. They had no standing offices for unction of the sick, nor knew of any other but that mentioned by St. James, when a miraculous cure followed. The religion of being anointed for health, by those that had not the gift of healing, was so unknown a thing to primitive antiquity, that a bishop of the fifth age wrote to the Pope of Rome about something like it, as men use to do of things that had never been heard of before. Those fancies of receiving health by the use of chrism began but then to stir, which afterwards settled into rules and offices for anointing all the sick with oil for the curing of their diseases. At first, in imitation of the primitive way, not only priests, but all Christians might anoint for that purpose. But at length none but priests must do it ; and as customs that are merely of human original do commonly begin with a rude and light draught, and in process of time are filled up with artificial and regular forms ; so this innovation which was at first begotten by questions concerning the use of chrism in the time of Innocentius, grew in two or three ages more into all its shapes,

and became a settled mystery. But though in respect of us it be indeed an ancient innovation, yet an innovation it was, and a late one too in respect of the truly Primitive Church.

2. It was never universally practised ; for besides the Christians of St. Thomas in East-India, who had no use of oil at all in their holy things ; the Æthiopian Church useth no unction of the sick ; though they have their holy oil,* where-with they anoint persons to be baptized ; and so when the missionaries from Rome came thither, they found these Christians utterly ignorant of extreme unction ;† which by the way is a good evidence, if there were no other, that even the unction which was not extreme, was an innovation. For no people are more tenacious‡ than they of ancient customs ; insomuch that “the most ancient ceremonies of the old Church that are obsolete elsewhere, and now hardly known, are seen to continue amongst them ; so that their rites being well considered in baptism, the eucharist, love-feasts, &c. one would think he saw a kind of image of the Primitive Church,” as we are told in the best account that was ever yet given of the state of that Church.

3. They that began this kind of unction had no good reason for what they did, and it is much easier to defend ourselves in refusing to follow that example, than them for setting it. It may indeed be excused by a pious intention of seeking health this way from God, and referring it all to him ; but thus may many other things be excused, which yet ought not to be imitated. Here was indeed the primitive rite of unction used, and that also for the same general end, for which it was used in the Primitive Church, *viz.* the raising up of the sick ; but it was far from having the same ground and reason, because it could be of no effect, the gift of healing being discontinued : which indeed made it look as untowardly, as if to recover any one to hearing and speech, they had ordered the priest to “put his finger into the ears,” and to “touch the tongue” of the patient, because our Lord§ did with such signs recover one that was deaf, and had an impediment in his speech ; or that when the priest could not himself go to pray over a sick person, he should send him a handkerchief or an apron from his body, because such things|| being carried to the sick from the body

* Ludolf. lib. 3. cap. 6. N. 31. [The Museum copy, Frankf. edit. 1681, not paged.]

† Ibid. cap. 5. N. 44.

‡ Ibid. cap. 6. N. 14, 15.

§ Mark vii. 32—35.

|| Acts xx. 12.

of St. Paul, their diseases departed from them. For the reason of the thing seems to be much the same in all the three cases. It is not very discreet, nor for the honour of religion, to make any show of a miracle, where none is like to follow ; nor to use a religious rite for healing the sick, which promises extraordinary matters, and yet people die as they did before ; which experience was in all probability the reason of changing the middle age unction, into extreme unction ; they were ashamed and weary of anointing for the body, and so fell to anoint for the soul. The Greek Church indeed still retains that unction for health ; but how unable she is to defend it, may be observed from Arcudius,* who brings in Simeon Thessalonicensis pleading against the unction of the Latins, himself doing what he can to defend it against the Greeks. The case in short is this, that they are both right one against the other, as it must needs be when two notable antagonists do each of them maintain a different error. Simeon, as well he might, condemned the Latins for anointing dying persons, contrary to St. James. Arcudius, as well he may, does almost laugh at Simeon and his Greeks, for their anointing in order to bodily health, as if they thought to make men immortal, and not suffer death to reign amongst them any more. Our Church is to be praised for not being led away by a colour of antiquity, to expose herself in this fashion. And it is the glory of a Church, that she is able to defend not only the bare lawfulness, but the prudence and expedience also of her constitutions.

In short, the unction of the middle ages, has neither authority great enough, nor reason good enough to recommend it. And the Church of England is therefore by no means to blame, for not taking up that unction, when she laid down the other that is incomparably worse.

SECT. VI.

An Address to the Laity of the Roman Communion.

AND now in the close of all, I would fain address myself to the gentlemen of the Church of Rome, in such manner as might incline them to consider what has been said.

As for those of them that are in orders, it belongs to them

* De Extr. Unct. lib. 5. p. 466, &c.

particularly to consider it, and I have no other application to make to them, but that if I have gone upon mistakes, they would employ some charitable hand to shew me where they lie. But in the mean time, I hope the following address to the laity of that communion will not be thought unreasonable.

Brethren, we are sensible at what disadvantage we endeavour to lay the truth before you ; we know that the prejudices which have been infused into you against all that we can say, are very great ; but we would fain hope that they are not invincible. What is it, I beseech you, in those guides you follow, to make you depend altogether upon their authority ? What is it in us that should make every thing we say suspected and slighted ? We do not love to enter into comparison ; but we can see no good reason for so great a difference. If you say that they can teach nothing but truth in delivering the doctrine of your Church ; certainly, it ought to be a very strong reason that can support such a persuasion ; a persuasion that whatsoever they say against us is true in general, against a terrible evidence, that it is all false in the particulars : especially, when we produce such evidence from those authorities upon which the general persuasion is said to be built, *i. e.* from Scripture and antiquity.

For antiquity, many of you at least must rely upon the skill and fidelity of others : and for our parts we desire to be trusted, but as we deserve. We think, the clearness of the testimonies we produce, the manner of our citing authors, and the connection with which we take their periods, may induce a prudent person, who himself is unacquainted with the Fathers, to believe that we are fair representers of antiquity.

For Scripture, that indeed is a rule which you may, but will not use ; for let us produce places of Holy Writ never so many or so clear, you refer the interpretation of them to those guides against whom they are produced. So that still they are believed upon their own testimony.

Is it because you take their skill and learning to be greater than ours ? But how can you be sure of that, without examining the different appearance which that difference would make in the management of these controversies ?

Or do you believe us to be hypocrites, and that sincerity is to be met with no where, but in the guides of your communion ? "We are ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God," no less than they ; and we know that "it is required of stewards that a man be found faithful." Consider us, brethren,

that neither our doctrine nor our conversation in the world, carry the marks of hypocrisy. Had we any other interest to serve, but that of truth, we also should contend for mysteries, by which the people get ease and liberty and the priest power. We tax not your priests of insincerity, nor inquire why they teach certain doctrines, and administer those sacraments which they do, and which we do not administer. We leave them to give an account of their ends and motives, at the day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. But for ourselves, we must needs say, that if we were disposed to bend religion to worldly interest, we should maintain another part than what we are now concerned for. To make the most of our orders, we are very sure that you ought to depend upon us for forgiveness of your sins while you live, and when you are dying; and yet not so to be forgiven, but that there should be a reckoning of temporal punishment behind, which would make us necessary for you when you are dead. Though you still purpose reformation of life without performance, we would have sacraments to save you from hell; but a life of strict piety and virtue, though crowned with extreme unction, should not excuse you from purgatory without a farther favour of the Church, that should not be easily obtained neither. You cannot conclude that we are insincere, but at the same time you must take us for the veriest fools alive, to stand as we do in our own light, and to prefer a heresy that does us no manner of service, before that truth which would bring all to depend upon us. Think upon this, and consider at least that you have no reason to suspect us of not believing ourselves what we profess, or of consulting our secular interest, when we entreat you for the love of God, and for the sake of your own souls, to weigh impartially what we say; which if you would do, we doubt not in the least, but you would find our cause to be as good as our meaning. Only let not prejudice extinguish the very desire of knowing better things, nor an oath* to yield to no manner of argument, prevail against that obligation to follow God and the truth, which all the oaths in the world can never dissolve.

* Pontif. Rom. Ordo ad Reconc. Apost. &c.

BOOK III.

THE POPISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS
CONFUTED, AS TO COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

A DISCOURSE OF THE COMMUNION IN ONE KIND: IN

ANSWER TO A TREATISE OF THE BISHOP OF MEAUX, OF
COMMUNION UNDER BOTH SPECIES; LATELY TRANSLATED
INTO ENGLISH.

AN ANSWER TO THE PREFACE OF THE PUBLISHER.

THE translator of the Bishop of Meaux's book of Communion under both species, having told us why he made choice of this author, whom he styles, "the treasury of wisdom, the fountain of eloquence, the oracle of his age, and in brief, to speak all in a word, the great James, formerly bishop of Condom, now of Meaux :" having thus brought forth this great champion of the Roman Church, he makes a plain challenge with him to us of the Church of England, in these words : "If this author write reason, he deserves to be believed ; if otherwise, he deserves to be confuted :" by this I perceived that he expected that we should be so civil as to take notice of so great a man as the Bishop of Meaux, or any thing that bears his name, and not let it pass unregarded by us, after it was for our benefit, as he tells us, made English : and besides, I did not know but some unwary persons among us might believe the reason he writes however bad ; and therefore I thought

he deserved to be confuted, and ought by no means to go without the civility and compliment of an English answer. This I doubt not might have been very well spared, had the publisher been pleased to have gone on a little further with his work of translating, and obliged us, who are strangers to the French tongue, with one of those answers which are made to de Meaux's book in that language; but since he has not thought fit to do that, I must desire him to accept of such entertainment as our country will afford him, though it is something hard, that we must not only treat our friends at home, but have as many strangers as they please put upon us: but we who cannot translate so well as others, which is a much easier part than to write at one's own charge, must beg leave of our French adversaries, if we sometimes speak to them in plain English, and the Bishop of Meaux must excuse me, if truth has sometimes made me otherwise answer him, than if I were a curé in his own diocese. Whoever has so great an opinion of the Bishop of Meaux's virtue and learning, as to take matter of fact upon his word, which the translator's mighty commendations were designed, no doubt, to beget in his reader, must believe the communion in one kind was the practice of the Primitive and Catholic Church, which if it were true, would be a very great, if not sufficient excuse for the Roman. This the Bishop asserts with all the confidence in the world, and this his book is designed to make out; and whoever will not believe it, must necessarily question either the learning of this great man, or else his sincerity; I shall not dare to do the former, but his late Pastoral Letter has given too much reason to suspect the latter. He that can now tell the world, that there has been no persecution in France, and that none has suffered violence either in their persons or their estates there, for their religion; may be allowed to say, that the Primitive Church had the communion but in one kind, a great while ago: but the one of these matters of fact deserves more, I think, to be confuted than the other.

I suppose it was for the sake of the author that the translator chose this subject of communion in one kind, though he says, "it is a point peradventure of higher concern than any other now in debate between Papists and Protestants, this being the main stone of offence and rock of scandal, and it having been always regarded since the Reformation, as a mighty eye-sore, and alleged as one sufficient cause of a voluntary departure and separation from the pre-existent Church of Rome." When

this pre-existent Church of Rome fell into her corrupt, terrestrial, and unchristian state, among other corruptions, this was one that gave just offence, and was together with many more, the cause of our separating from it, that it gave the eucharist but in one kind, contrary to Christ's institution, and took away the cup of Christ's precious blood from the people : but yet this point of highest concern is, in the judgment of the translator, but a bare ceremony, and upon the whole matter the difference herein between the Church of England and the Roman, seems to him reducible in great measure to mere form and ceremony. If it be, then I hope it may be easily compromised and agreed, for I assure him I am as little as he for making wider divisions already too great ; nor do I approve of the spirit of those who tear Christ's seamless garment for a mere form and ceremony ; but we who are sometimes thought fit to be called heretics, and to be censured and anathematized as differing in essential matters from the Church of Rome, at other times are made such good friends to it, that we differ but very little, and there is nothing but form and ceremony between us : but what is to accommodate this matter, and reconcile this difference between the two Churches ? Why, the doctrine of the real presence, in which, both Churches, he says, "agree, that Christ our Saviour is truly, really, wholly, yea, and substantially present in the sacrament." This is to close up the difference not only of communion in one kind, but of the adoration of the sacrament, and the sacrifice of the mass too in the translator's judgment : but does the Church of England then agree with the Roman in the real presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament ? Does it not expressly say the contrary, namely, "that the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, and that it is against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one."** So that though Christ be really present by his Spirit, and the real virtue and efficacy of his body and blood, be given in the sacrament, yet his natural body is by no means present there, either by transubstantiation or by any other way unintelligible to us, as the translator would insinuate : so that all those consequences which he or others would willingly draw from the real presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, as believed by us, do fall to the ground ; and I doubt he or I shall never be so

* Rubric after Office of Communion.

happy as to make up this great breach between the two Churches, however willing we may be to do it ; but instead of making a reconciliation between them, which is impossible as long as the doctrines of each of them stand as they do ; I shall endeavour to defend that Article of the Church of England, which not only modern novelists, as the translator calls those who are not for his real presence, and his reconciling way ; but the most learned and ancient Protestants who have been either bishops, priests, or deacons in our Church, have owned and subscribed, namely, that the cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the lay-people, for both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men.*

THE controversy about the communion in one kind, is accounted by a late French writer upon that subject, one of the chiefest and most capital controversies in Christian religion.† I suppose he means, that is in difference between the Reformed and the Church of Rome ; it is indeed such a case as brings almost all other matters between us to an issue ; namely, to this point, whether the Church may give a *non obstante* to the laws of Christ, and make other laws contrary to his, by virtue of its own power and prerogative ? If it may in this case, it may in all others, and therefore it is the more considerable question, because a great many others depend upon the resolution of it : when it had been thus determined in the Council of Constance, yet a great many were so dissatisfied, namely the Bohemians, to have the cup taken from them, that the Council of Basil was forced, upon their importunity, to grant it them again ; and at the Council of Trent, it was most earnestly pressed by the Germans and the French, by the ambassadors of those nations, and by the bishops, that the people might have the cup restored to them. The truth in this cause, and the advantage seems to be so plain on the side of the Reformation, that as it required great authority to bear it down, so it calls for the greatest art and sophistry plausibly to oppose it : one

* Article 30.

† Cum hæc quæstio ac controversia visa sit semper in Religione Christiana præcipua ac capitalis. Boileau de præcepto divino Commun. sub utraque specie, p. 217.

would think that the case were so evident, that it were needless to say much for it, and impossible to say any thing considerable against it ; but it is some men's excellency to shew their skill in a bad cause, and Monsieur de Meaux has chosen that province, to make an experiment of his extraordinary wit and learning ; and to let us see how far those will go to perplex and entangle the clearest truth, he has mixed a great deal of boldness with those, as it was necessary for him, when he would pretend that communion in one kind was the practice of the Primitive Church, and that it was as effectual as in both, and that the cup did not belong to the substance of the institution, but was wholly indifferent to the sacrament, and might be used or not used as the Church thought fit ; how horribly false and erroneous those pleas of his are, the following discourse will sufficiently make out ; and though he has said as much, and with as much artifice and subtily as is possible in this cause, yet there being another writer later than him* who denies that there is any divine precept for communion in both kinds, and who hath designedly undertaken the Scripture-part of this controversy, which Monsieur de Meaux has only here and there cunningly interwoven in his discourse : I resolve to consider and examine it as it lies in both those authors ; and though I have chosen my own method to handle it, which is, first, from Scripture, then from antiquity ; and lastly, from the reasonings and principles made use of by our adversaries ; yet I shall all along have a particular regard to those two great men, and keep my eye upon them in this treatise, so as to pass by nothing that is said by either of them, that has any strength to shew in it ; for my design is to defend the doctrine of our own Church in this matter, which our adversaries have thought fit to attack, and to fall upon, not with their own, but the borrowed forces of the Bishop of Meaux, whose great name and exploits are every where famous and renowned ; but since we have all Christian Churches in the world, except the Roman, to be our seconds in this cause, we shall not fear to defend them and ourselves, and so plain a truth against all the cunning and sophistry of our adversaries, though it be never so artificially drest, and after the French mode.

We will begin with Scripture, which ought to be our only rule, not only in matters of faith, which should be founded upon nothing less than a divine revelation, but in matters of

* Boileau de præcepto divino Commun. sub utraque specie, Paris, 1685.

pure, positive and arbitrary institution, as the sacraments are ; for they depend merely upon the will and pleasure, the mind and intention of him that appointed them ; and the best, and indeed the only way to know that, is, by recurring to his own institution ; as we know the mind of a testator by going to his last will and testament, and by consulting that, do best find how he has ordered those things that were of his own free and arbitrary disposal. And by this way we shall find, that the Church of Rome, by taking away the cup, has plainly violated the institution of our blessed Saviour, and deprived the people of a considerable part of that legacy which he bequeathed to them. Let us lay therefore before us the institution of our Saviour, as we find it in the three Evangelists, and in St. Paul, as he “received it of the Lord.”

Matthew xxvi. 26, 27, 28 : “Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.”

Mark xiv. 22, 23, 24 : “Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them and said, Take, eat ; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.”

Luke xxii. 19, 20 : “And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.”

1 Corinthians xi. 23, 24, 25 : “The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread ; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body, which is broken for you ; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood : this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.”

From all these it evidently appears, that our Saviour appoints the cup as well as the bread, and commands that to be drank as much as the other to be eat : and two of the Evangelists remark that particularly of the cup, which they do not of the bread, that they all drank of it, and that Christ said expressly

to them, “Drink ye all of it :” as if the infinite wisdom of God, which foresaw all future events, and all the after-errors that should arise about this sacrament, had had some especial regard to this very thing, and designed to prevent the abuse and mistake of those who would not have all Christians drink of this cup, as well as eat of the bread. What other reason there should be of those particular and remarkable words in St. Matthew and St. Mark, relating to the cup more than to the bread, I believe it will be hard to find out ; for Christ gave them the bread just as he did the cup, and there was no more danger that any of them at that time should omit drinking the one, any more than eating the other ; nor did there need any greater caution that we know of, or more particular command in reference to themselves for the one more than the other ; and yet no doubt there was some great and peculiar reason for St. Matthew and St. Mark’s adding of those words, of which there can be no such probable account given, as their having a respect and relation to after ages, as many other things in the Scripture have, which was written for the use, not only of the present, but all times of the Church ; and if these were spoken to the Apostles only as priests, as the Roman sophisters pretend, though without any ground, as we shall shew by and by, there cannot then be given any reason for them as yet, for there is no such corruption yet got into any part of the Christian Church, as to forbid the priests to drink of the cup ; and therefore it cannot be said that this remark or precaution was upon their account, unless the Romanists will think fit to take it to themselves, upon the account of their not allowing their very priests to communicate of the cup, unless when they minister and consecrate ; and so will have it regard only that other abuse of theirs which is unjustifiable, even upon their own grounds, to wit, that the assistant priests are not to receive it, though Christ by their own confession said to the priests who were present, “Drink ye all of it :” which is the best way that I know, for them to come off of those words by their own principles. For to avoid the force of those words, and to elude the plain command and institution of our Saviour, about the cup being given to all Christians, they say, “The Apostles received it only in the capacity of priests ; and that our Saviour’s command, ‘Drink ye all of it,’ belongs only to priests, and was given to the Apostles merely as such ;” nay, Monsieur Boileau says, “that those words in St. Matthew, ‘Drink ye all of it,’ and in St. Mark, ‘they all drank of it :’ respect no

man whatsoever, nor belong to no other man but to the twelve Apostles ;”* and Monsieur de Meaux tells us that† “these words were addressed to the Apostles only who were present, and had their entire accomplishment, when in effect they all drank of it.” Then it seems none but the Apostles themselves, no other priests have a right or a command to drink of the cup, but only the Apostles ; and this they might say if they pleased, upon as good grounds, and defend with as much reason, as that the Apostles only drank of it as priests ; but I suppose they do not intend to improve this notion so far, but mean only the same with their brethren, who say, “that those words concern the Apostles, not only in their own persons, but as priests, and as bearing the persons of all Christian priests, in which capacity alone they received the cup, and were commanded by our Saviour to drink of it ;” whereas they received the bread as laymen, and as representing the whole body of private and ordinary Christians. What a sudden change is here in the Apostles ! they who sat down as laymen, and as laymen took the bread just before, have their capacity altered in a trice, and are made priests in a moment : “Yes,” say they, “so they were, at that very time they were made priests, whilst they were sitting at table with Christ, and celebrating this his last supper ;” the the first and only ordination that ever was, either in the Jewish or Christian Church, in the time of eating and sitting at table.

And they may set up, I dare say, for the first authors among all the Christian writers that ever were of this opinion, that is now held by them ; that Christ at his last supper appointed not only one, but two sacraments ; that of orders as well as that of the eucharist ; and the first without any proper solemnity for such a purpose, without any outward action or any words, one would think, importing any such thing ; but they were made priests, say they, by virtue of those words, *hoc facite*, do this ; which Christ spake to them after he had given them the bread. This is a very short and quick form of ordination ; and had it been known to be one sooner, for it is a very late discovery, I suppose the Roman Church would have kept to that in the ordaining priests, as they do to *Hoc est corpus*, in

* Igitur hæc verba S. Matthæi, Bibite ex hoc omnes, et hæc S. Marci, Et biberunt ex illo omnes, neminem hominem præter duodecim Apostolos spectant aut attinent. Boileau de præcepto divino Commun. sub utraque specie, [Ibid.] p. 188.

† P. 237.

consecrating the sacramental bread : but this short form whereby they will have the Apostles made priests so suddenly and unexpectedly, happens to be too quick, and to make them priests a little too soon, which is a very unlucky thing for their purpose ; for Christ said those words, *hoc facite*, do this ; just as he gave them the bread, and spoke them in one continued sentence, with “Take eat ; this is my body :” so that whether he gave the bread severally to each of them, or they took it as it was upon the table, as it is said, “they divided the cup among themselves :” it cannot be supposed, but that those words *hoc facite* were spoken by Christ, before the Apostles did receive the bread, or at least before they eat it ; so that it might as fairly be pretended, and as truly, that the Apostles eat the bread as priests, as well as drank the wine as such ; for they were made as much priests by those words, before they eat the bread, as before they drank the wine ; if we do suppose they did receive the bread into their hands, before those words were pronounced by our Saviour ; which is the most that can be, yet they could not eat it before they were. And so this fine and subtle hypothesis which they have invented to deprive the laity of the cup, will deprive them of the bread too, and will in its consequence, and by the same train of arguing, tend to take away the whole sacrament from the people, and make it peculiar to the priests, as some of the Jewish sacrifices were, and the people shall not at all partake of the altar, but it shall be reserved as a peculiar right and privilege of the priests, to which the laity ought not to pretend, because the Apostles took the sacrament only as priests, and were made priests before they either eat the bread or drank the wine ; this would make a greater difference and distinction between the priests and the laity, and tend more to preserve the honour and esteem of one above the other. Which is the great reason they themselves give, and no doubt a true one, for their taking away the cup from the people ; and I do not question, but so great a wit, and so eloquent an artist in pleading, as the Bishop of Meaux is, who can say a great deal for any cause, be it never so bad, may with as good grounds, and as great a show of reason, justify, if he please, the taking away the whole sacrament from the laity, as the cup, and may to this purpose improve and advance this notion of the Apostles receiving both kinds as priests, to prove the laity have a right to neither, and may take off the necessity of both parts as well as one, by pretending that the real effect and virtue of the sacrament is received some

other way, by the sacrifice of the mass, or by spiritual mandation, or by something else, without partaking of any of the symbols, as well as without partaking of all of them, as Christ has appointed ; for if the effect and virtue of the sacrament depend upon Christ's institution, then both are necessary ; if it may be had without keeping to that, then neither is so ; but of this afterwards, when we come to examine his grounds and reasons. I shall make some reflections upon our Saviour's institution of this sacrament, and offer some considerations against these pretences and sophistries of our adversaries.

1. I would ask them, whether those words of our Saviour, " Do this in remembrance of me," do not belong to all Christians as well as to the Apostles ? If they do not, then where is there any command given to Christians for to receive the sacrament, either in both or in one kind ? Where is there any command at all for Christians to celebrate or come to the Lord's Supper ? or to observe this Christian rite, which is the peculiar mark and badge of our profession, and the most solemn part of Christian worship ? Those words surely contain in them as plain a command, and as direct an obligation upon all Christians to perform this duty to the end of the world, as they did upon the Apostles at that time ; or else we must say with the Socinians, " that the sacrament was only a temporary rite, that belonged only to the Apostles, and was not to continue in the Church, or be observed by all Christians in all ages :" but St. Paul says,* " We do hereby shew the Lord's death till he come ;" by this solemn way of eating bread broken, and drinking wine poured out, we are to remember Christ who died for us, and is gone into heaven, till he come again, when we shall live with him, and enjoy his presence for ever : Christ has given a command to all Christians to do this, and they are to do this in remembrance of him ; they are as much obliged to this, as the Apostles were ; and the command does as much belong to the people, to receive the sacrament, as to the Apostles, or to their successors to give it them. The Apostles and Christian priests are hereby commanded to do their parts, which is, not only to receive, but to dispense and distribute the sacrament ; and the people or Christian laity, are commanded to do theirs, which is, to receive it ; the Apostles are to do that which Christ did, to bless the bread and break it, and give it to be eaten ; to bless the cup, and give it to be drank by the com-

* 1 Cor. xi. 26.

municants ; and the communicants are to eat the bread and drink the cup ; and if they do not (both of them) do this that belongs to them, and perform those proper parts of their duty, which are here commanded them, they are both guilty of an inexcusable disobedience to this plain command of Christ, "Do this in remembrance of me." Nobody ever denied that those words, and this command of Christ, belonged to the Apostles ; but to say they belonged to them alone, and not to all Christians, is to take away the command and obligation which all Christians have to receive the holy supper.

2. This command of Christ, as it obliges all Christians to receive the sacrament, the laity as well as the clergy, so it obliges them to receive it in both kinds ; and as it obliges the clergy to give the people the sacrament, so it obliges them to give it in both kinds ; for the command of doing this in remembrance of Christ, belongs as much to one kind as the other ; and is as expressly added concerning the cup, as concerning the bread ; for so it is in St. Paul, beyond all contradiction, and to the unanswerable confusion of our adversaries, who would pretend it belongs only to the bread. Bellarmine observing these words in St. Luke, to be added only after the giving of the bread, for they are in neither of the two other Evangelists, falls into a mighty triumph, and into a most religious fit of catholic devotion, admiring the wonderful providence of God,* that to take away all heretical tergiversation, this should so happen, that it might be plainly understood, that the wine was not to be given at all, and that this command did not belong to that, but only to the bread : but this shews how over-hasty he was to catch at any thing, though by the plainest mistake in the world, that might help him in his straits, and how over-glad to find any thing that might seem to favour and relieve him in his distressed cause ; and how his zeal and forwardness outrun, not only his judgment, but even his memory ; for if he had but turned to St. Paul, and had but thought of this passage in him, where he adds these very words, "Do this in remembrance of me," to the cup as well as

* Mirabilis est providentia Dei in sanctis literis ; nam ut non haberent haeretici justam excusationem, sustulit eis omnem tergiversandi occasionem : Nam Lucas illud, Hoc facite, posuit post datum Sacramentum sub specie panis ; post datum autem calicem illud non repetivit, ut intelligeremus jussisse Dominum, ut sub specie panis omnibus distribueretur Sacramentum, sub specie autem vini non item. Bellarm. de Sacram. Euchar. l. 4. c. 25. [vol. 3. p. 399. col. 2, Prag. 1721.]

to the bread, it would have quite spoiled his mighty observation, and made him ashamed of it, and not have suffered him to be guilty of so horrid a slip. But the Bishop of Meaux espied this,* as it is hard to miss it ; and what way has he to put by the force of those words, which so undeniably belong to the cup, as well as the bread ? He says, “ They import only a conditional order, to do this in remembrance of Christ, as often as one shall do it ; and not an order absolute to do it.” But does not this conditional order imply an absolute one, to do it often ; and virtually forbid the not doing it at all ? If he had gone on but to the very next verse, would he not have found that St. Paul gives the same conditional order concerning eating the bread, as both here and there concerning drinking the cup ? “ As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth, or do ye shew forth, Καταγγέλλετε, the Lord’s death till he come ;” and do not those words, though spoke conditionally of the bread, yet absolutely order the eating of it, when we receive the sacrament ? If they do, as sure nobody will deny, then they as well absolutely order the drinking the cup too, when we do so. Affirmative precepts, such as this is, obliges us not absolutely at all times, as, when ye pray, when ye fast, are only conditional commands ; but yet they import an absolute command to perform those duties, and when we do so, to perform them so as Christ has appointed us to do : and thus we have an absolute precept in the Gospel, to receive the sacrament, which the Bishop is very willing we should not have,† and when we do so, we are to receive it as Christ commanded we should, by eating bread, and drinking wine, and doing both those in remembrance of him.

3. Christ’s own institution, had there been no such particular command, to drink, as well as to eat, and to “ do both in remembrance of him ;” I say, his own institution of the sacrament, both by bread and wine, should suffice, methinks, to shew us what we should do, when we celebrate the same sacrament that he did ; namely, use both bread and wine ; and eat and drink it as was done then. If it be the same sacrament that he celebrated with his disciples, why do not we celebrate it as he did ? Why should we not observe his own institution ? But without any order from him, and contrary to what he did, leave out part of it ; and that part of it which is as considerable and as remarkable in his institution, as the

* P. 255.

† P. 256.

other? If from the bare institution of Christ, all Christians are bound to receive this sacrament, which surely they are; then from thence they are bound as much to drink the cup, as to eat the bread; for both are equally instituted. If the institution, for of that I speak now, as it is in St. Matthew, and St. Mark, without the additional command of "Do this;" if that do not oblige to drink the cup, neither does it oblige to eat the bread; for that is no more in the institution than the other; and if the Church has such a power as to take away the cup, notwithstanding the institution, it may have a power to take away the bread too, notwithstanding the institution; for the one is as much in the institution as the other; and if the cup be not an essential part of the sacrament (which is the other thing they say, and which the Bishop of Meaux insists on, which I shall examine afterwards), then neither is the bread, so far as appears by the institution, and so neither of them may be necessary, and both of them may be taken away, notwithstanding Christ's own institution of both. Which, though it be the most presumptuous boldness, and the most horrid sacrilege that can be, yet shall I say no more to it at present, but what St. Cyprian does upon the like case, of those who would omit the wine in the sacrament, and use water instead of it. "But if it be not lawful to loose any one of the least commands of Christ; how much more is it not lawful to infringe so great and so weighty ones? And such as the very sacrament of our Lord's passion, and our redemption; and to change it by human institution into quite another thing, than what it is by divine institution."*

4. The reason added by our Saviour, to his institution, and command of "Drink ye all of it;† for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you," as in St. Luke; "for many," as in St. Matthew and St. Mark; "for the remission of sins;" this shews the cup, not only to have a peculiar mystical relation to his blood shed or poured out; but that it belongs to all those to drink of it, for whom Christ's blood was shed; who are to have remission of sins by it, and who have a right to the new covenant which Christ has purchased and established in his blood; which I suppose are the Christian

* Quod si nec minima de mandatis Christi licet solvere, quanto magis tam magna, tam grandia, tam ad ipsum dominicæ passionis et nostræ redēptionis sacramentum pertinentia fas non est infringere, aut in aliud quam quod divinitus institutum sit, humana institutione mutare? Cyprian. ep. 63. ad Cæciliūm. [p. 155. Oxon. 1682.] † Matth. xxvi. 28.

laity as well as the priests ; though I do not think with Bellarmine* that all Turks and infidels ought to have the cup, because Christ's blood was shed for them too ; but, I presume, he will not say they have the same right to it, or interest in it, that Christians have ; and yet I own they ought as much to have the cup, as they ought to turn Christians, that is, they ought to do both : but yet, first I think to become Christians, and be baptized, before they have ordinarily a right either to Christ's blood, or to the sacrament ; and it must seem very strange, and grate very much upon all Christian ears, to have it said, that Turks and infidels have a right to the cup and blood of Christ, as well as Christians, from this reason here of our Saviour to his disciples ; concerning which it is, I think, very observable, that to partake of the sacrificial blood, and to drink that sacramentally, which was shed for the expiation of our sins, is a peculiar and extraordinary privilege allowed to Christians. The Jews were forbid all blood, for this reason given by God himself, †“ And I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul ;” for the life of the beast which was given and accepted by God, for the life of the offender, that was forfeited by the law, was supposed to be in the blood ; as it is there added, “ the life of the flesh is in the blood,” and therefore the blood of the sacrifice was poured out, and so given to God at the altar ; the peculiar virtue and atonement of Christ's sacrifice is attributed to his blood : “ We have redemption through his blood ;”‡ “ We are justified by his blood ;”§ “ In whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins ;”|| “ And without shedding of blood, either under the law or under the Gospel, there was no remission to be had.”¶ Now for Christians to partake and communicate of that blood in the sacrament, which was shed and sacrificed for them, and by which they have atonement and expiation of sins, this is a peculiar favour, and singular privilege, which Christ has vouchsafed to Christians, and which he takes notice of at his institution of this sacrament, “ Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you for the remission of sins.” The author of the treatise *De cœnâ Domini*, in the works of St. Cyprian, has remarked this, as first brought in by Christ,

* Disput. de Euch. l. 4.

§ Rom. v. 9.

† Levit. xvii. 10, 11.

|| Coloss. i. 14.

‡ Eph. i. 7.

¶ Heb. ix. 22.

and as a new thing belonging to the sacrament of the Gospel,* “that Christians should drink blood, which the old law did absolutely forbid, but this,” says he, “the Gospel commands ;” and St. Chrysostom observes,† “It is not now as it was formerly, when the priests eat of that which the people might not partake of; but now one body and one cup is offered to all.” So it was it seems in his time, and they had not then learned the way of drinking the blood, by eating the body, which now they pretend to do in the Church of Rome; “we do,” say they, “partake of the blood and the body both together, for the blood is in the body, and necessarily joined with it :” but be sides that, this depends upon that *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, the doctrine of transubstantiation, upon which, this and a great many other things are built, when it is yet too heavy and ruinous to bear it own weight; yet this cannot here do the business, for we are to drink the blood, and not to eat it, that is, we are to partake of it, as separated from the body, as shed for us, or else it is not a sacramental partaking of it; we are to receive Christ’s body as it was a sacrifice for us, but it was not a sacrifice but as the blood was poured out and separated from it, and we cannot any other way partake of the sacrificial blood, which is to be drank by all Christians.

5. It is a most groundless fancy, and an opinion perfectly precarious, to suppose the Apostles were made priests at our Saviour’s institution of the sacrament, by those words, *Hoc facite*, and that they received the cup only as priests. None of the ancients who write upon this sacrament, or upon these words of its institution, ever thought so; nor did it ever enter into the head of any man, till a few late Schoolmen invented this new subtlety, that they might have something to say against the clearest cause, and to shift off, if they could, the plainest evidence in the world; and though they now generally take up with this sophistical evasion, which Monsieur Boileau‡ insists upon, yet some of the wisest men among them are

* Nova est hujus sacramenti doctrina, et scholæ Evangelicæ hoc primum magisterium protulerunt, et doctore Christo primum hæc mundo innotuit disciplina, ut biberent sanguinem Christiani, cuius esum legis antiquæ auctoritas districtissime interdicit: Lex quippe esum sanguinis prohibet, Evangelium præcipit ut bibatur. [Append. p. 98. Venet. 1728.]

† Καὶ οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς, τὰ μὲν ιερεὺς ἡσθιε,—καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετεῖχεν ὁ ιερεὺς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα πρόκειται καὶ ἐν ποτήριον. Homil. 18. in 2 Cor. [vol. 10. p. 568. Par. 1732.]

‡ Creavit et instituit sacerdotes his verbis, Hoc facite, p. 189.

ashamed of it: Estius owns, that "this appears not at all solid, nor agreeable to ancient interpreters,"* and confesses, that "*Hoc facite*, belongs to the common people eating and drinking of this sacrament, and that St. Paul refers it to them."† Suarez acknowledges, "it is not convincing."‡ And Alfonsus a Castro§ would not make use of it, because he says, "it does not appear, whether these words were spoken by Christ before, or after he gave the eucharist to the Apostles," and he rather thinks after, and that they took it not as priests.|| He was aware of a difficulty, if the Apostles took the cup only as priests, and by the right of priests, at the first institution, then it would be contrary to that, to have any but priests receive the cup: and then, why is it ever given to the laity, as it is sometimes by the Pope's favour and concession, if it belong only to priests, and the priests only have right to it, from the first institution, because the Apostles received it only as priests? But so inconsistent are they to their own principles, that they do not give the cup, even to their priests, unless when they themselves consecrate and officiate: none but the *Minister Conficiens* is to receive that, though never so many other priests be by; so much at variance are they between this their pretence, and their own practice, and so do they fight, even with their own shadows. If the Apostles received the cup as priests, why then do not all priests receive it, as well as the priest who consecrates, if only he that consecrates be to receive it, then by this rule, the Apostles should not have received it at the first institution, for they did not then consecrate: Christ was then alone the *Minister Conficiens*, and so, according to them, he ought only to have received it, and not the Apostles; and yet it is most probable that Christ did not himself receive either the cup or the bread: so that if they will keep close to this whimsical notion of theirs, the *Minister Conficiens* is not to receive at all, but to consecrate and give to the other priests that are present. But further, if the Apostles were made priests by those words, *Hoc facite*,

* Nobis parum solidum videtur, nec apud veteres interpretes. [In Lib. 4. Sent.] Dist. 12. sect. 11. [vol. 4. p. 165. col. 2. Par. 1638.]

† Et Paulus 1 Cor. 11, illud facere etiam ad plebem refert edentem et bibentem de hoc Sacramento, quando ait, Hoc facite, quotiescumque. [Ibid.]

‡ Hoc argumenti genus per se non convincere. Disp. 74. tom. 3. [ut supra, vol. 18. p. 771. c. 2.]

§ Contra hæres. Tit. Euch. p. 99.

|| Ibid.

which they so earnestly contend, and spend so much critical learning to shew that *facere* signifies to sacrifice, then they were twice made priests at the same time, for those words were said by our Saviour, as St. Paul witnesses, not only after giving the bread, but repeated again also after the cup, so that the Apostles were doubly consecrated, and the character of priests was twice imprinted upon them at the same time ; which is another difficulty with which they must be encumbered according to their own principles ; for though this opinion be wholly imaginary, yet, like the nightmare, it is a real weight lying upon them, and I shall leave them to sweat under it, and get it off as well as they can.

6. Whatever be the effects and benefits which we receive by partaking of this blessed sacrament, they depend upon the institution of it, and are not ordinarily to be had without observing of that ; I say ordinarily, because cases of necessity dispense with positive precepts, as if a sick man cannot swallow the bread, about which there is a provision in the eleventh Council of Toledo ; if the natural infirmity of another's stomach be such, that he cannot drink wine, which the French discipline speaks of, and which Monsieur de Meaux * makes an objection against them ; if the place be such that no wine is to be had or procured, as in Norway, where Pope Innocent VIII. allowed them to celebrate without wine ; in these extraordinary cases, God has not so tied the inward grace to the outward sign, but that he can give it without it ; as if a catechumen willing and desirous of baptism, die without it, because he could not have it, yet the Church has always supposed he may have the benefit of it, and so I charitably hope, that the pious and religious laity in the Church of Rome, shall have the benefit of the blood of Christ, though they are deprived of it in the sacrament, and through the mere fault of their governors, and of their priests, are excluded from it, and forced to violate the divine institution, which is all that Calixtus and others which Monsieur de Meaux † is willing to take advantage of, charitably allow, as not being willing to exclude any one from salvation for what he cannot help ; but this is no manner of prejudice to the cause that we defend, and no excuse in the world for breaking the institution of Christ, and altering his positive precept without any necessity ; for though God can give the inward grace, and no doubt

* P. 181.

† P. 277.

but he will do it in extraordinary cases without the sacrament, without either the whole, or any part of it, yet he will not ordinarily do this, nor is it ordinarily to be had, or to be expected, without keeping to that institution, by virtue of which God has annexed and promised such inward virtues and benefits to such outward signs, and holy symbols, and ceremonies, which he himself has appointed ; and therefore, though God, if he had pleased, might have annexed the whole virtue and effect of the sacrament to the eating the bread, or to the drinking the wine alone, or might have given it without either of them, yet he having, by the institution, appointed both parts of the sacrament, hath annexed the grace and virtue to both, and not to one only. Monsieur de Meaux will needs have the whole fruit, and virtue, and essential effect of the sacrament, to be given by one species, which is the great principle he goes upon, which I shall more fully examine afterwards ; but if the virtue and essential effect depend upon the institution, and it can depend upon nothing else, and if both species be instituted by Christ, as I have shewn, then the virtue and effect depends upon both species, and not upon one. Monsieur de Meaux asks, “Whether in the very moment the body of our Lord is received, all the effects be not likewise received ?”* I answer No, because all that is required in the institution, is not then received. He farther asks, “Whether the blood can add any thing essential ?” I answer Yes, because that also is in the institution ; if one of the Apostles had stopped our Saviour, when he had given them the bread and told them this was his body, and asked him this very question, I ask, Whether he thinks this would have hindered him from going on with the cup, because they had already received the whole virtue and effect of the sacrament without that ; and nothing essential could be added by that ? Christ, it seems by the institution, did go on to the cup, after he had given the other species, and to say he did not give any essential virtue or efficacy by the cup, is an unwarrantable boldness, and blasphemous impudence, which may as well deny, that he gave any by the bread ; this is to make the cup a very empty sign, and naked figure, devoid of all inward virtue and efficacy, and to serve, as de Meaux would have it, only for representation, and a more full and express signification,† in which he enjoins us to the cup, with those his adversaries, who have the

* P. 328.

† P. 176.

meanest thoughts of the sacrament, and indeed, it is to make the cup wholly superfluous, and unnecessary, as to the conveying or exhibiting any real virtue, or inward grace, which is to be received thereby, and as Monsieur de Meaux is forced to own, when he answers that demand, to what purpose then, was the institution of both species?* To make it only a more full image, and representation of the sacrifice of Christ, but not to give us any of the virtue or efficacy of it.

“Christ,” he says, “cannot separate the virtue, or effect that any other grace should accompany his blood, than the same in ground and substance which accompanies his body,”† but he can make the whole virtue and grace accompany and depend upon both the sacramental body, and sacramental blood together, and so he has done by his institution, according to which, the sacramental grace is not to be expected ordinarily, without both; but he may deprive those persons wholly of this, who violate his institution, and who receive not both species, as he has appointed and commanded them; which is a very dreadful consideration, which should make men afraid to dare to alter any such thing as Christ’s own institution, upon which the whole virtue of the sacraments does depend.

7. It is from the institution of the sacrament, that we know what belongs to the substance of it, and is essential to it, and what is only circumstantial and accidental: I own there were several things, even at the institution of it by Christ, which were only circumstantial; as the place where, the time when, the number of persons to whom, the posture in which he gave it; for all these are plainly, and in their own nature, circumstantial matters; so that nobody can think it necessary or essential to the sacrament, that it be celebrated in an upper room, at night after supper, only with twelve persons, and those sitting or lying upon beds, as the Jews used to do at meals; for the same thing which Christ bids them do, may be done, the same sacramental action performed in another place, at another time, with fewer or more persons, and those otherwise postured or situated; but it cannot be the same sacrament or same action, if bread be not blessed and eaten, if wine be not blessed and drunken, as they were both then blessed by Christ, and eaten and drunk by his Apostles: the doing of these is not a circumstance, but the very thing itself, and the very substance and essence of the sacrament; for

* P. 179.

† P. 182.

without these we do not do what Christ did, whereas we may do the very same thing which he did, without any of those circumstances with which he did it: thus in the other sacrament of baptism or washing with water, whether that be done by washing the whole body in immersion, or by washing a part of the body in sprinkling, is but a circumstance, that is not necessary or essential to baptism, but to wash with water is the very thing in which baptism consists, and the very substance of the sacrament which is essential and unalterable; the quantity of water with which we wash is not, no more is the quantity of bread and wine which we eat and drink in the sacrament, but eating bread and drinking wine is as essential to the eucharist, as washing with water is to baptism. Monsieur de Meaux betrays the great weakness of this cause, and his own inability to defend it, when to take off the argument from the institution, he says,* “We do not give the Lord’s Supper at table, or during supper, as Jesus Christ did, neither do we regard, as necessary, many other things which he observed.” And when he recurs to baptism, † as if by not using immersion we did not observe the institution of the sacrament, when *βαπτίζειν* so plainly signifies washing with water, without plunging or immersing, as Mark vii. 4, ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται, except they are washed or baptized when they return from the market, they eat not, and the *βαπτισμοὺς ξεστῶν καὶ ποτηρίων*, the washings of pots, and of cups, Mark vii. 4, 8, and in the washing of the dead, and divers washings *βαπτισμοῖς* of the Jews, Hebrews ix. 10, which were without any plunging or immersing, as is sufficiently made out by all authors, against the Anabaptists: a great man must be mightily put to his shifts, when he is fain to use such poor cavils, and such little evasions as these, against a plain command, and a clear institution; where to drink, is as evidently commanded as to eat, and where it is equally commanded to do both; and where it appears that doing both those in remembrance of Christ, make up the very substance and essence of what was done and commanded by him, in the institution. The matter of the sacraments is certainly of the substance of them; why else might we not baptize without water, as well as perform the eucharist without bread and wine? This the Schools are unanimously agreed in, and this was the argument of St. Cyprian against the Aquarii, who used water instead of wine; of Pope Julius

* P. 168.

† P. 173.

against other heretics, who used milk; and of Thomas Aquinas, against the Artotyritæ, who offered bread and cheese together in this sacrament; they tell them, that* “Christ instituted this sacrament in another element, † that he did not give milk, but bread and wine in this sacrament; and that ‡ they ought to observe the Divine tradition, neither ought any thing to be done, but what was first done by our Lord; for it is not lawful for any, by any human and novel institution, to depart from what Christ our Master commanded and did;” and that this was a sufficient confutation of them, “that they did not do that which our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and teacher of this sacrifice, both did and taught.”§ They all suppose it necessary to use the elements which Christ used and appointed, and that because of his institution, by which it plainly appears, what belongs to the essence and substance of this sacrament, to wit, eating of bread and drinking wine blessed, in remembrance of Christ. It must be a very strange thing sure, to make these to be but circumstances in the sacrament, and to doubt whether they do belong to the substance and essence of it, and to pretend that we cannot know this from the institution; Monsieur de Meaux could not have done this in earnest, had he not considered the cause he was to defend, more than the institution of Christ; in which, no man that will not shut his eyes, but must see what belongs to the essence and substance of the sacrament.

It is no less boldness to say, as Monsieur Boileau|| and others do, though de Meaux was too wise to offer any such thing in all his book, that “Christ himself varied from his own institution after his resurrection, and gave the sacrament to some of the disciples at Emmaus, under the one species of bread. And that the Apostles after his ascension, and the sending of the Spirit upon them, celebrated the eucharist together with

* Excluduntur per hoc, quod Christus hoc Sacramentum instituit in pane. Aquinas, Part 3. Quæst. 24. [Quæst. 74. Art. 1.] [vol. 24. p. 382. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

† Nulli lac, sed panem tantum et calicem sub hoc Sacramento noscimus dedisse. Julius P. apud Gratian. de Consecr. [vol. 1. p. 1915. Lugd. 1671.]

‡ Admonitos nos scias ut in calice offerendo traditio observetur, neque aliquid fiat a nobis quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecerit, nemini fas est ab eo, quod Christus Magister et præcepit et gessit, humana et novella institutione decidere.

§ Non hoc faciunt quod Jesus Christus Dominus Deus noster, sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor, fecit et docuit. Cypr. Ep. 63. [p. 148. Oxon. 1682.] || P. 191.

the whole multitude of believers, only in bread." It will be very strange if the Apostles, the very first time they gave the sacrament, should be found to break Christ's institution and command about it, which were so very plain; if St. Peter, and the rest of those holy men did this, I shall never blame the Church of Rome, nor any of his successors for doing it afterwards; and if they did it just after they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and had that in such a miraculous manner given unto them, I shall conclude, it was not the office of that blessed Spirit "to bring all things to their remembrance which Christ had said unto them," as he told them it should be, but to teach them things quite contrary to what he had a little before commanded and appointed them: and it will be more strange if Christ himself, after his resurrection, should give the sacrament in another manner than he had done four days before. Let us therefore examine those places from which all these strange things are pretended, and see if any such matter is to be found in them, which I confess, will be very surprising, if it be: as to the first, St. Luke tells us, ch. xxiv. that the same day Christ was risen, two of the disciples, the name of one of which was Cleophas, going to Emmaus, a village near to Jerusalem; Christ, as they were communing together about him and his resurrection, drew near, and went along with them, and discoursed to them about those things, as a person unknown; and going into a house, and "sitting at meat with them, he took bread and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them," ver. 30. Here, say they, Christ gave the sacrament, and gave it only in bread, for "he took bread and blessed, and brake, and gave to them;" which are the very words used at his giving his last supper: but must Christ always be supposed to give the sacrament whenever he took bread and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to others? Then he did so when he filled the five thousand with five loaves and two fishes, for then "he looked up to heaven and blessed, and brake the loaves, and gave them to others," Mark vi. 41, Matth. xiv. 19. And so he did when he filled four thousand at another time, "he took the seven loaves and gave thanks, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before them," Mark viii. 6. Here though he blessed the bread, and gave thanks, as was always the custom of pious and religious men, at their ordinary meals, and though he brake the bread, which is a Jewish phrase for distributing and giving it, yet it cannot in the least be pretended, that in any of these places he gave the sacrament, nor is there any

manner of reason to suppose he did so at Emmaus, with these disciples, but to satisfy them of the truth of himself and his resurrection ; he took meat with them, as he did afterwards with the eleven Apostles, and by his behaviour at table, and by his form of blessing, which was probably the same he used at other times, and by thus seeing and conversing with him more intimately at table, they came to understand who it was, and “their eyes were opened, and they knew him,” or as it is ver. 35, “he was known to them in breaking of bread ;” that is, in eating with him, not that any thing miraculous or extraordinary was here shewn by Christ, or wrought upon them, any more than was to the Apostles afterwards, to whom he shewed himself likewise, and took meat with them, to give them full satisfaction, that it was the same person who was crucified, and who was risen with the same body he had before ; or if they were illuminated, and their eyes opened in an extraordinary manner at that time, yet it was not necessary this should be done by the sacrament, of all the virtues of which, the opening men’s eyes, and curing them of infidelity, is the least to be ascribed to it, since it is only to be taken by those who do believe, and whose eyes are opened before, though this may sometimes be applied to it, by way of allegory and allusion, as it is by St. Austin, Theophylact, and others, who make the pool of Bethesda, and the curing of the lame and the leprous by a word, to be as much sacramental as they do this, that is, to have some signification or resemblance to spiritual things : but there is not one Father or ancient interpreter, who does plainly affirm, that Christ did here give the sacrament, to those disciples at Emmaus : the bread which Christ blessed, was no more truly made a sacrament thereby, than the house of Cleophas was dedicated into a Church by Christ’s presence and divine discourses there ; which yet it might be, according to St. Jerome’s words, without any administering of the sacrament, of which that place quoted out of him, makes no mention :* but if it must be supposed without any authority, and without any reason, that Christ did here give the sacrament, it must also be granted, that he did something more than is related in that short account, which is there given ; he must not only have “blessed and brake the bread, and given it to them,” but he must have done it with those words, “this is my body ;” which, they say, are always necessary to the true consecration

* Boileau, p. 192.

of this sacrament : and if he may be supposed to have used those, though they are not mentioned, which is a good argument to prove it was not the sacrament, but only an ordinary meal ; then we may as well suppose, that at the same time he used wine too, though that is not mentioned, and though we have no account of any drink, which yet we cannot but think they had at that supper, let it be what it will ; eating together and sitting at meat, includes and supposes drinking too, though there is no particular or express mention of it : as in the

2. Second place, in those several instances, out of the Acts of the Apostles, wherein it is said of the first converts to Christianity, that “they continued in breaking of bread, and in prayer,”* “and in breaking bread, from house to house,”† “and that they came together on the first day of the week, to break bread,”‡ which I am willing to allow, may be meant of the sacrament, though a great many learned men think they belong to the charitable and friendly way of living among those first Christians, who had all things in common, and who came to eat together, at the same time that they came to pray, and contrived these daily meetings for worship and refreshment, in the same house, for greater conveniency : yet, that they did not drink together, as well as eat, and that by an usual synecdoche, both these are not included in the phrase of breaking of bread, is not to be imagined : bread was a word, by which, not only amongst the Jews, but all nations, all manner of food and nourishment necessary to life, was signified ; as being the most considerable part of it, so that we mean this when we pray for our daily bread, and when we say a man wanteth bread, and so “to break our bread to the hungry,” Isa. lviii. 7, and by “the young children’s asking bread, and no man breaketh it unto them,” Lament. iv. 4, the same is imported. To break bread, was an usual Hebrew expression, for giving all manner of food, as appears by those instances ; so that when bread, which is but one part of food, is expressed ; yet the other is included and meant also, as when Christ “went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread,” Luke xiv. 1, we cannot suppose that he had only such a dry banquet, as not to drink with him too, and when Joseph told the steward of his house, that he should prepare an entertainment for his brethren, “for they are to eat with me at noon,” Gen. xlivi. 16 ; “*hodie sunt tecum comeduntur*, as in the Vulgar,

* Acts ii. 42.

† Acts ii. 46.

‡ Acts xx. 7.

he did not, I suppose, think they were not to drink with him too, and that he was not to provide wine, as well as other victuals, neither did Joseph's own brethren, suspect he would send them away dry and thirsty, when they only heard that they should "eat bread there," ver. 25. Notwithstanding this alone is mentioned, yet they met with plenty of wine too, as may be seen at the latter end of the chapter, where in the vulgar Latin it is said, *Biberunt et inebrinati sunt cum eo.*

The Greeks thought wine and drinking so considerable a part of the feast, that they called the whole, from that one part, *συμπόσιον*, and yet when they thus drank together at their entertainments, they did no doubt eat too ; though, if we will as strictly insist upon the phrase, and not allow a synecdoche here, as well as in the Jewish one, of breaking or eating bread, we must make their feasts to be all of liquids, and the other all of solids : but the phrase is so clear and so usual, that nothing could make men deny its being so, but their being willing to stick to any thing, however weak and little it be, that seems in the least to favour a bad cause, which is forced to call in the help of a phrase, used in a short history, and that against its usual meaning, to combat with a plain command and clear institution ; I would only ask these gentlemen, and Monsieur Boileau, with whom I am especially concerned, whether he does not think the first Christians, when they met together to break bread, allowing thereby it was to receive the sacrament, did not also at the same time feast together at their *ἀγάπαι*, and whether those were not joined with the sacrament, and whether these also are not meant here, and included in their breaking of bread together ? Which I think, he or any one versed in antiquity, will not deny. And if so, he must either say, that at those love-feasts they used no wine or drink, because none is expressly mentioned here ; though it is plain they did in the Church of Corinth, even to excess ; or else, that this Jewish phrase of breaking bread, is to be here taken, as it is in other places, by synecdoche, for both eating and drinking together, and that either at the Lord's table or at any other. But in the

3. Third place, I have an undeniable argument to prove, either that this must be so meant, or else that the sacrament cannot be meant, either in these places or any other, where there is only mention of bread, without wine : for it is universally owned by all the Popish writers, as well as by all others, that to the making a sacrament, there ought to be both the

species consecrated, though they are not both given : " so that in this," says Boileau,* " we agree with the Protestants, that the priests always ought to consecrate the eucharist in both kinds ;" and Monsieur de Meaux,† when he pretends, that " he finds upon several occasions, in antiquity, the body given without the blood, and the blood given without the body ;" which I shall examine by and bye, yet confesses, " that never one of them was consecrated without the other ; and it would be sacrilege," says Valentia,‡ " if one species were consecrated without the other ;" and after they are consecrated, Bellarmine§ owns, " that the sumption of both species is necessary to the priests who consecrate, and that upon the account of its being a sacrament ;" as well it seems as both ought to be consecrated to make it a sacrifice. Now in all these places of the disciples at Emmaus, of those in the Acts, of St. Paul at Troas, which is another, but too slight to be particularly considered, there is no mention of any thing but breaking bread, not one word said of any other species, either as consecrated, or as received by any one : so that if these places do prove any thing for communion in one kind, they prove as much for consecration in one kind, and for the sumption of one kind, even by the priest that consecrates. So that as it was wisely declared in the Council of Trent,|| " These places, and the reasons from them, must be laid aside, because by them it would be concluded, that it was not sacrilege to consecrate one kind without the other ; which is contrary to all the doctors and meaning of the Church, and overthroweth the distinction of the eucharist, as it is a sacrifice, and as it is a sacrament." So that Monsieur Boileau's strongest argument, is too high charged, and recoils upon himself and his own Church ; and his friends are obliged to take it out of his hands, lest he do more harm to them by it, than execution upon his enemy. But he is a bold man, that dare face the mouth of a cannon, who dare undertake to prove the communion in one kind, out of the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians ; which is such a perfect demonstration against it, that a man must out-face the sun, who offers at any such thing.

* Hoc enim convenit nobis cum Protestantibus, semper debere sacerdotes Eucharistiam confidere sub utraque specie, p. 207. † P. 182.

‡ Si enim una species absque altera conficiatur, sacrilegium committitur. De usu Sacram. c. 13.

§ Sacerdotibus utriusque speciei sumptio necessaria est ex parte Sacra-menti. de Euch. c. 4. [lib. 4. c. 23.] [vol. 3. p. 390. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

|| Soave's History of the Council of Trent, l. 6. [p. 520. Lond. 1640.]

St. Paul, as the best and truest means to correct the abuses got into the Church of Corinth, about the eucharist, recurs to the institution which he received from Christ himself, and which he delivered to the Church of Corinth ; in which there is so full an account of both the species, and such a command of both, as is sufficient to shew the Apostolical practice conformable to the institution of Christ, and to let us see what tradition they left in their Churches about it. Had there been any difference between the priests and the people's receiving the bread and wine, St. Paul, who wrote to the laity, would no doubt have taken notice of it, and told them their respective duties ; but he delivers the institutions to them just as Christ did to his Apostles ; says not a tittle of their not being to receive the cup, but on the contrary, adds that command to it which is in none of the Evangelists, “ Do this in remembrance of me ;” gives not the least intimation that this was given to the Apostles as priests, or that they were made priests then ; but what is observable, does not so much as mention the Apostles, or take any notice of the persons that were present at the institution, and to whom the words, “ Do this,” were spoken. So that so far as appears from him, they might be spoken to other disciples, to ordinary laics, nay, to the women who might be present at this first sacrament, as well as the Apostles, and so must have been made priests by those words, *Hoc facite*, as well as they. After the recital of the institution, in which he observes no difference between the priests and laics, he tells the Church of Corinth, that as often as they did eat this bread and drink this cup, “ they shewed forth the Lord’s death till he come :” so that they who were to shew forth Christ’s death, as well as the priests, were to do it both by eating the bread and drinking the cup ; and indeed, one of them does not shew forth his death so well as both, for it does not shew his blood separated from his body. He goes on to shew them the guilt of unworthily eating and drinking, for he all along joins both those acts as a phrase signifying the communion : and he expressly uses it no less than four times in that chapter : but in some copies, say they, instead of “ and,” he uses the particle “ or,” in the 27th verse, “ Whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink this cup unworthily :” and here Monsieur Boileau would gladly find something for either eating or drinking without doing both ; which is such a shift and cavil, as nothing would make a man catch at, but such a desperate cause as has nothing else to be said for it : if the

particle *ἢ or*, were used in that place instead of *καὶ and*, yet he has but little skill either in Greek or Latin authors, who knows not that it is the commonest thing in both, to use that disjunctive for a copulative ; as “to Abraham or to his seed,” for “to Abraham and his seed :”* of which it were easy to give innumerable instances, both in the Bible and profane history : the Apostle having used the copulative in all other verses, and all along in this chapter, and having joined eating and drinking, cannot be supposed here to use a disjunctive, and to separate them ; but after all, there are copies of as great credit and authority for the particle *καὶ*, as for *ἢ*, though I think no such weight bears upon the difference of these particles, as to make it worth our while to examine them ; for if the Apostles did disjoin them, it was only to lay a greater emphasis upon the guilt of unworthy eating and drinking, which though they both go together, yet are both very great sins ; and I see no manner of consequence, that because a man may both eat and drink unworthily, that therefore he should only eat, and not drink at all ; or that the Apostle supposed it lawful to eat without drinking, or drink without eating.

But the Apostolical practice, and the institution of our Saviour, for communion in both kinds, though it be very plain and clear in Scripture, and being founded upon so full a command and a divine institution, I know no power in the Church to alter it, or vary from it ; yet it will be further confirmed and strengthened by the universal practice of the whole Christian Church, and of the purest ages after the Apostles, and by the general consent of antiquity, for a thousand years and more after Christ ; in which I shall prove the eucharist was always given to all the faithful who came to the public worship, and to all the communion in both kinds, without any difference made between the priests and the laity, as to this matter, which was a thing never heard of in antiquity, nor ever so much as mentioned in any author till after the twelfth century, in which wretched times of ignorance and superstition, the doctrine of transubstantiation being new brought in, struck men with such horror and superstitious reverence of the sacred symbols, which they believed to be turned into the very substance of Christ’s body and blood, that they began to be afraid of taking that part which was fluid and might be spilt, each drop of which they thought to be the same blood that flowed

* Rom. iv. 13.

out of the side of Christ, and the very substantial blood that was running in his veins, and now by a miraculous way, was conveyed into the chalice. Hence at first, they used pipes and quills to suck it out of the cup, and some used intinction, or dipping of the bread in the wine ; and afterwards the same superstition increasing, they came to leave off, and abstain wholly from drinking the cup ; which was reserved only for the more sacred lips of the priests, who were willing to be hereby distinguished from the more unworthy and profane laity. The Council of Constance first made this a law in the year 1415, which was before a new and superstitious custom, used only in some few places, and got by degrees into some particular churches of the Latin communion (for it never was in any other, nor is to this day), of which we have the first mention in Thomas Aquinas, who lived in the thirteenth age, and speaks of it thus faintly in his time, “ In some churches it is observed, that only the priest communicates of the blood, and others of the body ; ”* *in quibusdam, et in aliquibus ecclesiis* ;† shews that it was then but creeping into a few particular churches, and very far from being generally observed in the western parts. And that it was quite otherwise in the whole Primitive Church, for above a thousand years, who in all their assemblies kept to our Saviour’s institutions of both kinds, and never varied from what Christ and his Apostles had commanded and delivered to them, as the Church of Rome now does, I shall fully prove, that so, according to Vincentius Liricensis’ rule, against all manner of heresies, the truth may be established, “ First, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the catholic Church ; ”‡ which tradition being well made out, does more fully explain the law, and shew the necessity of observing it : the universal practice of the catholic Church, being a demonstration how they understood it, contrary to the new sophistry of our adversaries, and how they always thought themselves obliged by it ; and because none are more apt to boast of tradition, and the name of the catholic Church upon all accounts, than these men, I shall

* In aliquibus Ecclesiis servatur ut solus sacerdos communicet sanguine, reliqui vero Corpore. Comment. in Johan. c. 6. ver. 53. [vol. 3. p. 523. col. 1. Venet. 1775.]

† In quibusdam Ecclesiis observatur, sum. p. 3. q. 80. [vol. 24. p. 439. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

‡ Primo scilicet divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde Ecclesiæ Catholice traditione.

more largely shew how shamefully they depart from it in this, as they do, indeed, in all other points of controversy between us ; and how they set up the authority of their own private Church, in opposition to the universal, as well as to the laws of Christ and practice of the Apostles : their communion in one kind is such a demonstration of this, that we need no other to prove this charge upon them : and as I have shewed this to be contrary to the institution and command of Christ, and the writings of the Apostles, so I shall evidently make it out to be contrary to the whole primitive and catholic Church in all ages ; and this—

First, From the most ancient rituals, or the earliest accounts we have, of the manner of celebrating the blessed eucharist in Christian Churches.

Secondly, From the most ancient liturgies.

Thirdly, From the testimony and authority of the Fathers or ancient writers.

Fourthly, From some ancient customs.

Fifthly, From the custom still remaining in all Christian Churches in the world, except the Roman.

Sixthly, From the confession of the most learned of our adversaries.

1. From the most ancient rituals, or the earliest accounts we have of the manner of celebrating the blessed eucharist in the Christian Church ; the first and most authentic of which is in Justin Martyr's Second Apology, where he describes the public worship of Christians upon Sundays, according to its true primitive simplicity, and as to the eucharist, which was always a part of it, “There was brought,”* he says, “bread and wine with water (according to the custom, I suppose, of the Greeks and Eastern countries, who generally drank their wine so mixed), and these being offered to the chief minister, he receiving them, giveth honour and glory to the Father of

* Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἷνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὄντος λαβὼν αἷνον καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου ἀναπέμπει, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται—οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν. Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδόσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὖς παροῦσιν ἀποφέρονται. Justin Martyr Apolog. 2. [Apol. 1.] [p. 82. Par. 1742.]

all things, through the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and rendereth thanksgiving to him for these things; and having finished his prayers and giving of thanks, to which the people that are present join their *Amen*, the deacons give to every one that is present, to partake of the blessed bread, and wine and water; and to those that are absent, they carry them.” Having discoursed of the nature of this sacramental food, and shewn the institution and design of it out of the Gospel, and from the words of our Saviour, he again repeats their manner of celebrating, in the same words almost which he had used before, and says, “That the distribution and participation of what is blessed by the president, is made to every one;”* which “every one” belongs plainly to the ὁ λαὸς, that just goes before. Nothing is more evident, than that all the elements were given to the people, and to every one of them; and no man, I think, ever had the impudence to question this, or make the least doubt of it, before Monsieur Boileau, who, if ever he read this place, may be ashamed to say as he does, “That it cannot be truly and strictly concluded from hence, that the eucharist was communicated to the people under both kinds in the age of this holy martyr.”† And what man of modesty or criticism, besides Monsieur Boileau, would have observed that both the elements were not then carried to the absent? Which Monsieur de Meaux‡ owns were, though it is plainly said they carried the εὐχαριστηθέντα, the same things that were blessed, and that those who were present did partake of, “yet it is not said that they carried both together,”§ τὰ συνεζευγμένα. He might as well have pretended, that though they carried, yet they carried nothing at all: and they that make such answers to such plain places, had, I am sure, better say nothing at all.

Next to Justin Martyr, St. Cyril of Jerusalem gives us the

* Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπενθημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ δάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται. Ib. prope finem. [p. 83.]

† Hæc Sti. Justini verba perperam assumuntur ad concludendum vere et castigate, ætate sancti Martyris Eucharistiam plebi administratam fuisse sub utraque specie. Boileau de præcepto divino Commun. sub utraque specie, p. 215.

‡ In the example of S. Justinus, the two species, it is true, were carried, p. 112.

§ Non dicit, ea conjunctim vel alternatim ad absentes perforunt. καὶ τὰ συνεζευγμένα τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι, sed tantummodo ad absentes perforunt. Ib. p. 214.

fullest account of the manner of celebrating the blessed eucharist, in his Mystagogic Catechisms, as they are called; wherein having discoursed of all the Christian mysteries, to those who were newly baptized, and so fit and capable to be instructed in them, he comes at last to the highest Christian mystery, that of the Lord's Supper; and in his fifth Catechism largely describes the performance of it, with a great many more particular ceremonies and forms of prayer, than were used before. And having told his young Christian, in the foregoing homily,* “That in the species of bread, is given the body of Christ, and in the species of wine, his blood; that so by partaking of the body and blood of Christ, he may become one body and one blood with him; he bids him come with firm faith and great devotion; and tells him how he should receive the holy bread very particularly, and directs him to the very posture of his hands and fingers; and afterwards, he as particularly orders him how, and in what manner he should come to receive the cup of the Lord's blood,† not stretching out his hands, but bending, and in the posture of worship and adoration, and whilst the moisture is upon his lips,‡ he bids him take it with his finger, and touch his eyes and forehead, and other parts, and so sanctify them.” However superstitious that was, for I cannot but think this use of the sacrament to be so, as well as many others that were yet very ancient, it is plain that the newly baptized Christians did then receive the eucharist in both kinds, and were commanded§ to come to receive the cup, and to drink of the wine, as well as to partake of the bread.

To St. Cyril, who lived towards the latter end of the fourth century, I shall join the Apostolic Constitutions, as they are called, which I suppose not to be more ancient; and in these in one place,|| “The sacrifice or eucharist, is ordered to be

* Ἐν τύπῳ γάρ ἄρτου δίδοται σοὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοται σοὶ τὸ αἷμα, ἵνα γένη μεταλαβών σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ σύστωμος καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. 4. [p. 320. Venet. 1763.]

† Προσέρχονται καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων τῷ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος. Ib. Catech. 5. [p. 332.]

‡ Ἔτι δὲ τῆς νοτίδος ἐνούσης τοῖς χείλεσί σου, χερσὶν ἐπαφώμενος καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ μέτωπον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγίαζε αἰσθητήρια. Ib.

§ Προσέρχονται καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος. Ib.

|| Γινέσθω ἡ θυσία ἑστῶτος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένου ἥσυχως, καὶ δταν ἀνενεχθῆ, μεταλαμβανέτω ἐκάστη τάξις καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίον αἵματος. Constit. Apostol. 1. 2. c. 57. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 1. p. 295. Lut. Par. 1671]

celebrated ; the people standing and praying silently, and after the oblation, every order," (to wit, of young and aged, of men and women, into which they were ranged before at their religious assemblies, as appears in that chapter), " severally and by themselves, take the body and blood of Christ ; and when the women do it in their order, they are to have their heads covered."* So that it is plain all orders, both of men and women, were to receive both the body and the blood. In another place,† where is a more perfect account of the eucharistic solemnity, and of the prayers and ceremonies used in it ; at the latter end he describes the order in which they communicate. First, "The bishops, then the presbyters and deacons, and other inferior orders, then the religious women, the deaconesses, the virgins, the widows and their children ; and after that, the whole people with great reverence, and without any tumult or noise. The bishop gives the bread, saying, The body of Christ, and he that receives it, says Amen. The deacon gives the cup, and says, The blood of Christ, the cup of life ; and he that drinks it, says Amen. And when they have all communicated, both men and women, the deacons take the remainders and carry them into the pastophory or vestry."

St. Dennis the Areopagite, I put after all these, because I doubt not but that the book under his name was later than any of them; there is this passage of celebrating the eucharist in those books of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ; the priest praying that all who partake of the sacrament may do it worthily. "The bread which was covered and whole, he uncovers and divides into many parts, and the one cup he divides to all,"‡ and afterwards he speaks particularly of "the priest first taking himself that which he gave to others,"§ and mentions nothing else taken by him, than what the others do partake of.

I shall to these add the famous *Ordo Romanus*, which de Meaux calls the ancient ceremonial of the Roman Church. Neither the time nor the author of it is certainly known, it con-

* Καὶ αἱ γυναικες κατακεκαλυμμέναι τὴν κεφαλὴν προσερχόσθωσαν.
Ib. [p. 298.]

† L. 8. c. 13. [Ibid. p. 483.]

‡ Τὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαιρέτον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελών, καὶ τὸ ἑνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας.
Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. c. 3. p. 103. [vol. 1. p. 196. Venet. 1755.]

§ Άντη γὰρ ἡ καθολικὴ τῶν θείων εὐκοσμία καὶ τάξις, πρῶτον ἐν μετουσίᾳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀποπληρώσει τὸν ἴερὸν, καθηγεμόνα τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ θεόθεν ἐτέροις ὀωρηθησομένων, οὕτω τε καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδοῦναι.
Ib. [Ibid. p. 197.]

cerns not me to inquire whether it belonged to the eighth or the eleventh age, which is upon other accounts a dispute between the Reformed and Roman divines; I suppose it to be made at several times, and to have had several additions made to it by several popes, one after another; for all missals and eucharistic forms were at first very short, and afterwards increased by further compositions. Pope Gregory, who had the greatest hand in it, speaks of one Scholasticus, "who composed the prayer to be said over the oblation" * before him; who that Scholasticus was, Strabo and Berno, and the other writers upon the *Ordo Romanus*, have owned themselves ignorant, and other learned men have anxiously inquired; the learned Colomesius thinks it as clear as the light that this was Pope Gelasius. † But whoever were the authors of it, and whensoever it was composed, as we now have it, it is sufficient to my purpose that the communion is there distributed in both kinds; and the manner of it is thus prescribed :‡ "Then cometh the archdeacon with the cup at the side of the altar,—and pouring a little into the chalice out of the flagon, in the hands of the acolyte, the bishops first come to their seat, that they may communicate from the hand of the Pope, according to their order; and the presbyters also ascend to the altar, that they may communicate. The bishop first takes the cup from the hand of the archdeacon, and stands at the side of the altar, that he may confirm the following orders; then the archdeacon taking the chalice from his hand, pours it again into the

* Ut precem quam Scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem dicemus. Greg. l. 7. ep. 64. [Lib. 9. Ind. 2. Ep. 12. vol. 2. p. 940. Par. 1705.]

† Ex quo meridiana luce clarius patet, quis fuerit Scholasticus ille Gregorio M. l. 7. ep. 64. laudatus. Colomesius in *Paralipom. ad Chartophyl. Eccles. verb. Gelasius.* [p. 8. Lond. 1686.]

‡ Deinde venit archidiaconus cum calice ad cornu altaris—et refuso parum in calicem de scypho inter manus acolyti accedunt primum Episcopi ad sedem, ut communicent de manu Pontificis secundum ordinem; sed et Presbyteri omnes ascendent, ut communicent, ad altare. Episcopus autem primus accipit calicem de manu archidiaconi, et stat in cornu altaris, ut confirmet sequentes ordines; deinde archidiaconus, accepto de manu illius calice, refundit in scyphum, et tradit calicem subdiacono regionario, qui tradit ei pugillarem cum quo confirmet populum—Quos dum confirmaverit—Postea episcopi communicant populum, et post eos diaconi confirmant,—Presbyteri jussu Pontificis communicant populum, et ipsi vicissim confirmant, nam mox ut Pontifex coepérit communicare populum—psallunt usque dum, communicato omni populo, etiam in parte mulierum. *Ordo Romanus*, p. 6. edit. Hittorp. Paris. [1610.]

flagon, and gives the cup to the regiuary subdeacon, who gives him a hollow pipe, with which he may confirm the people, — whom, when he hath confirmed, — afterwards the bishops communicate the people, and after them the deacons confirm them ; — the priests, by the command of the Pope, communicate the people, and they also confirm them ; for as soon as the Pope begins to communicate the people, the antiphone begins, and they sing till all the people have communicated, even on the women's side.” However, Rome has thought fit of late to depart from their own *Ordo Romanus*; yet there is a very remarkable story of one of their own popes, Pope Martin V. who, after the Council of Constance, did in a solemn office at Easter, communicate the people in both kinds, according to the Roman Order ; which was not so altered and changed at that time, as it was afterwards. Cassander in his *Consultatio*,* and Lindanus in his *Panoplia*,† are both positive witnesses for this matter of fact, which is not only considerable in itself, but a clear argument of the late change and alteration both of the old Roman practice, and the old Roman order.

2. The most ancient Liturgies that are, describe and celebrate the communion in both kinds. So that, under the name of St. Peter,‡ represents all the people “as partaking of the divine, pure, heavenly, quickening, tremendous mysteries,” and this prayer or thanksgiving is used for them all, “Blessed be God who has vouchsafed us to partake of his immaculate body, and his most precious blood.”§ That, under the name of St. James, after the prayer of the priest, that the Holy Spirit coming down and sanctifying the elements, would make them become the body and blood of Christ, “that they may be effectual to all that receive them for remission of sins,”||

* Martinus Sanctus etiam post tempora Constantiensis Synodi, in solenni Paschæ officio, juxta praescriptum Ordinis Romani, universum populum corpore et sanguine Domini communicasse legitur. Consult. de Com. sub utr. [Oper. p. 1037. Par. 1616.]

† Martinus ipse P. R. 5, utramque legitur Romæ administrasse speciem, quod non de Diacono, Pontificis administro, accipendum est, sed de populo. Lindan. Panoplia, l. 4. c. 56.

‡ Μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν — οἱ μεταλαβόντες τῶν θείων, ἀχράντων, ἐπονραίων, ζωποιῶν, φρικτῶν μυστηρίων.

§ Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς, δι' οὐ τὸ ἀχραντὸν αὐτὸν σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτὸν αἷμα μεταλαβεῖν κατηξιώθημεν. Liturg. Petr. in Biblioth. Patr.

|| “Ινα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν. Litrur Jacob. Ib.

(which word *all*, supposes more than the priest who consecrates), represents “the deacons, after the communion of the clergy, as taking up both the patens and the chalices to give to the people,”* and after they had received of both, “the deacons and the people both gave thanks to Christ, because he has vouchsafed them to partake of his body and of his blood.”† The Liturgy which bears the name of St. Mark, describes the priest as praying for all those who were to communicate, “that they might be worthy to receive of those good things which were set before them, the immaculate body and the precious blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;”‡ and using these words in his prayer of consecration over the elements: “that they may become available to all those who partake of them, to faith, sobriety, and Christian virtues;”§ which had been very improper if none but himself had been to partake of them: so that whatever antiquity, and whatever authority, may be allowed to those Liturgies which go under the names of those Apostolic saints, the advantage of them is wholly for the communion in both kinds. And those churches who used these Liturgies, and so probably ascribed these names to them, as Jerusalem, that of St. James; Alexandria, that of St. Mark: these must be acknowledged to have given the communion in both kinds, as anciently and as certainly as it can be proved, or may be supposed that they used these Liturgies. But to come to the more authentic Liturgies of St. Basil and St Chrysostom, which are now used in the Greek Churches, though both the time and the authors of these may be very questionable; yet with all their present additions and interpolations, there is a manifest proof in both of them for the communion in both kinds. In the former the priest thus prays for himself and all the communicants: “that we all, who partake of one bread and one cup, may be united together into the communion of one Holy Spirit, and that none of us may be partakers of the body or blood of Christ to judgment or

* Εἴτα μεταδίδωσι τῷ κλήρῳ—ὅτε δὲ ἐπαιρούσιν οἱ διάκονοι τοὺς κρατῆρας εἰς τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ λαῷ. Ib.

† Δέγοντιν οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὁ λαός, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἡξιώσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματός σου. Ib.

‡ Ὁπως ἀξίως μετάσχωμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ τιμίου αἵματος κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Liturg. Marci. Ib.

§ "Ινα γένηται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντιν εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν. Ib.

condemnation ;”* so that it is plain he did not communicate of the bread or cup alone, nor was alone partaker of the body or blood of Christ. In another prayer he mentions the people expressly, and “begs of Christ that he would vouchsafe, by his great power, to give unto them his pure blood, and by them (that is, by the priests) to all the people.”† And as the priest thus prays for the people and for others before the communion, so he offers up a thanksgiving for them afterwards in these words : “We give thee thanks, O Lord our God, for the participation of thy holy, pure, and heavenly mysteries, which thou hast given us to the benefit, sanctification, and health both of our souls and bodies : do thou, O Lord of all things, grant unto us that this may be the partaking of the body and blood of Christ to our sincere faith.”‡ In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the priest having prayed God “to make this bread the precious body of Christ,”§ which is an expression the Church of Rome will by no means allow, and “that which is in the cup his blood ;|| that so they may become to those who partake of them for the cleansing of the soul, the remission of sins,”¶ and the like ; and having used that prayer, “Vouchsafe to give us this pure body and blood, and by us to all the people,” he gives the deacons both the bread and wine, and uses particular expressions at the giving of each : “As this hath touched thy lips, and will take away thy sins, and purge away thy wickedness ;”** and then after-

* Ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου μετασχόντας ἐνῶσαι ἀλλήλοις εἰς ἐνὸς πνεύματος ἀγίου κοινωνίαν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα η̄ εἰς Κατάκριμα ποιῆσαι μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Liturg. Basil. [Goar, Eucholog. p. 169, 170. Lut. Par. 1647.]

† Καταξίωσον κραταιῷ σοῦ χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματός σου καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος καὶ δι’ ἡμῶν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ. Ib. [Ibid. p. 175.]

‡ Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μεταλήψει τῶν ἀγίων ἀχράντων καὶ ἐπονρανίων σου μυστηρίων ἀεδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ καὶ ιάσει τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς δέσποτα τῶν ἀπάντων δός γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς πίστιν ἀκατάψευστον. Ib.

§ Ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτου τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Liturg. Chrysost. Savil. Edit. tom. 6. [vol. 12. p. 792. Par. 1735.]

|| Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σοῦ. Ib.

¶ Ὡστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνοντοι εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. Ib.

** Τοῦτο ἥψατο τῶν χειλέων σου, καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὰς ἀνομίας σου, καὶ τὰς ἀμάρτιας σου περικαθαρεῖ. Ib. [p. 796.]

wards the deacon, “having the cup, speaks to the people to draw nigh in the fear of God and in charity.”* And though there is no particular description of their communion, as there is of the deacons, yet this is only an argument that it was the same; for had it been different, no doubt there would have been an account of it. But after all, the priest makes a general thanksgiving, in the name of all, “blessing God that he has vouchsafed us this day his heavenly and immortal mysteries.”† To confirm this observation of the communion in both kinds from the Liturgy of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, Cassander in his Liturgy tells us,‡ “that the Liturgy of the Ethiopians agrees with these two, both in the prayers and the orders of the performance;” and in this the people, as he informs us, pray towards the conclusion, “that God would bless them who have received the sacred body and the precious blood;”§ and “blessed be God who has given us his sacred body and precious blood;” and again, “thanks be to God who has given us his sacred body and precious blood.” As to the liturgies of the Latins, which they call Missals, they have received such additions and corrections at Rome, as were necessary to make them suit with the present opinions and practices of that Church; but yet we have many of those which have escaped that usage, and which contain the communion in both kinds, as appears by the *Codices Sacramentorum*, published at Rome by Thomasius, where the Gelasian form, that is older than the Gregorian, speaks “of the priests communicating alike with the sacred orders, and with all the people,”|| without any difference, and all along mentions both the symbols by the words *sacra menta*, *mysteria*, *dona*, in the plural number; and concludes with this prayer: “that as many as have taken the body and blood of Christ may be filled

* Τῷ λαῷ λέγων, μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε. Ib. [p. 797.]

† Ἐνχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρούσην ἡμέραν κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπονρανίων σου καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρίων. Ib. p. 1003. [Ibid.]

‡ Liturgia Æthiopum sententia orationum et ordine actionis fere cum Græcorum Chrysost. et Basili. Liturgiis convenit. Liturg. per G. Cassand. [ut supra, p. 27.]

§ Populus sub finem, Benedic nos Domine servos tuos qui sanctum corpus et pretiosum sanguinem sumpsimus. Benedictus sit qui dedit sanctum corpus et pretiosum sanguinem. Gratia sit Domino qui dedit nobis corpus suum sanctum et pretiosum sanguinem suum. Ib. [p. 28]

|| Post hæc communicat sacerdos cum ordinibus sacris et cura omni populo. p. 199. [Rom. 1680.]

with all heavenly benediction and grace.* The three other are lately published by Mabillon, and were used very anciently in the Gallican Church, before that nation had received the Roman office; in all which also there are plain evidences for the communion in both kinds; in the old Gothic one, after the Lord's Prayer follows this:† "Deliver us from evil, O Lord Jesus Christ; we have eaten thy body crucified for us; we have drank thy holy blood, which was shed for us. Let thy sacred body be unto us for salvation, and thy sacred blood for the remission of sins, here and for ever." And in the *Missa Dominicalis*, after the communion, there is this prayer: "Thy body, O Lord, which we have taken, and thy cup which we have drank, let it stick in our entrails,"‡ an expression used now in the canon *Missæ*. In the *Missale Francorum*, which is but short, the *sacramenta* and *mysteria*, and *sacrosancta mysteria*, are used in the plural, which may denote the two parts of the sacrament; but in the old Gallican Missal it is as plain as it can be in the collect after the eucharist: "We have taken from the holy altars the body and blood of Christ, our Lord and our God: let us pray, that we being always filled with faith, may hunger and thirst after righteousness."§ And in another collect, after the communion upon Easter Day: "We beseech thee, O Lord, that this wholesome food and sacred drink may bring up thy servants."|| There are several old Missals produced by Menardus, at the end of his notes on Gregory's Sacramentary, which are supposed to be written about the tenth and the eleventh century; and though the doctrine of transubstantiation creeping in, in those dark and ignorant times, made them begin to have a superstitious fear of spilling the wine, and so brought them, in order to prevent

* Ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione coelesti et gratia repleamur. [Ibid.] p. 198.

† Libera nos a malo, Domine Christe Jesu, Corpus tuum pro nobis crucifixum edimus, et sanguinem sanctum tuum bibimus; fiat nobis corpus sanctum tuum ad salutem, et sanguis sanctus tuus in remissionem peccatorum hic et in aeternum. *Missale Gothico-Gallicanum apud Mabillon de Liturg. Gallic. p. 300. [Lut. Par. 1685.]*

‡ Corpus tuum, Domine, quod accepimus, et calicem tuum quem potavimus, haereat visceribus nostris. Ib. p. 297.

§ Sumpsimus ex sacris altaribus Christi Domini et Dei nostri corpus et sanguinem—oremus ut semper nobis fide plenis esurire detur ac sitire justitiam. Ib. p. 331.

|| Quæsumus, Domine, famulos tuos salutaris cibus et sacer potus instituat. Ib. p. 366.

that, to mix the two elements together, yet they never gave the one without the other, as appears in all those masses. The Sacramentary of St. Gregory is alone a sufficient authority for communion in both kinds, in which the priest who celebrates prays, “that as many as shall take the sacred body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly blessings;* and we who take the communion of this holy bread and cup are made one body of Christ.”† So that the body and blood of Christ were plainly to be taken by more than himself, and were so by all the faithful, who were thereby to be made the body of Christ; so “we are fed with his flesh, we are strengthened by his blood.”‡ “Thou hast refreshed us with the body and blood of thy Son;§ and we beseech thee that we may be numbered amongst his members, whose body and blood we do communicate.”|| I have before considered the *Ordo Romanus* as an ancient ritual of the Latin Church; and both that and the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, which are the most ancient writings, at least next to Gelasius, that give us an account of these things in the Roman Church, do bear witness to the custom of giving the cup in the communion, as well as the bread; which Cassander also observes,¶ who had as great skill as any man in these matters, but yet had not seen the Gelasian Sacramentary, since published out of the Queen of Sweden’s library, which is a further confirmation of this.

3. As to the testimony of the Fathers or ancient writers, some of those have been already given upon the two former heads. I shall add several others to them, who bear witness to the communion in both kinds. Ignatius in one of his epistles says: “One bread is broken to all, one cup is distributed to all.”**

* Quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti repleamur. Gregor. Sacram.

† Ipsi qui sumimus communionem hujus sancti panis et calicis, unum Christi corpus efficimur. Ib. [p. 27.]

‡ Cujus carne pascimur, roboramur et sanguine. Ib.

§ Corpore et sanguine filii tui nos refecisti. Ib.

|| Quæsumus, ut inter ejus membra numeremur, cuius corpori communiamus et sanguini. Ib.

¶ Quem morem sanguinis Domini porrigendi et antiqua sacramentaria B. Gregorii et libellus Ordinis Romani aperte testantur. Cassand. Consult. de commun. sub utraque.

** Εἰς ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἰθρύφθη, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὄλοις διενεμήθη. Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. [Inter. Epist. Interpolat. p. 224. Lips. 1699.]

And here I cannot but admire the confidence and folly of Monsieur Boileau,* who brings this very passage, “One bread is broken for them all,” as a proof that it was only the bread that was given, and leaves out what is immediately added, “one cup is distributed to all;” which not only confutes, but shames him. Irenæus says,† “The flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ, and that of the cup and the bread, the substance of our flesh is increased and consists.”‡ And from hence, he there proves the resurrection of the body against those heretics that denied it, “because the body is nourished by the blood and body of Christ, and is made a member of him.” He must mean this of the bodies of all Christians, unless the resurrection of the body belong only to the priests, as well as the cup. Tertullian, upon the Resurrection, says the same with Irenæus: “Our flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ:”§ and in his book to his wife, he speaks of her taking the cup, in two several places.|| Upon one of which, a very learned critic of the Roman Church, who owns those places to belong to the communion, has made this observation to our hands, “At that time the supper of the Lord was celebrated in both species,”¶ even to women it seems, who, I suppose, were no priests. Origen, upon the book of Numbers, says, “We drink the blood of Christ sacramentally in the eucharist, as well as spiritually, by believing his doctrine.”**

* De solitario pane mentionem facit Ignatius. Boileau de præcept. Divin. Commun. sub utraque, p. 216.

† Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, et non percipere vitam, quæ a corpore Domini et sanguine alitur. Iren. l. 4. c. 34. [c. 18. p. 251. col. 1. Venet. 1734.]

‡ Quando ergo mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia; quomodo carnem negant capacem esse donationis Dei, qui est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur, et est membrum ejus? Id. l. 5. c. 2. [Ibid. p. 294.]

§ Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur. Tertul. de Resur. carnis. [p. 530. Par. 1695.]

|| De cuius manu desiderabit? De cuius poculo participabit? Id. ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 6. [Ibid. p. 170.] De cibo, de poculo invadere, desiderare, in mente habere. Id. c. 4. [Ibid. p. 169.]

¶ Sub utraque specie illo tempore convivium Domini celebrabatur, quod tanta aviditate arripiebatur, ut illud invadere, desiderare, in mente habere. De la Cerda Not. in locum. p. 634.

** Bibere dicimur sanguinem Christi non solum Sacramentorum ritu, sed et cum sermones ejus recipimus. Quis est iste populus qui in usu habet sanguinem bibere? Origen. homil. 16. in Num. [vol. 2. p. 334. col. 1. Par. 1733.]

When he had before asked, “What people drink of blood?” St. Cyprian admonishes Christians to prepare themselves for the hardest encounters, as the soldiers of Christ, “considering that for this very purpose, they every day drink the cup of Christ’s blood, that so they may also shed their blood for Christ.”* And he pleads for giving the communion to the lapsed, upon this very account, to arm and fortify them for farther trials and persecutions; “how can we teach or provoke them to shed their blood for the confession of Christ, if we deny them the blood of Christ?† Or how can we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first admit them to drink the cup of the Lord, in the church, by the right of communion?” The excellent epistle‡ of that holy martyr, against those, who out of a principle of abstaining wholly from wine, or lest they should by the smell of wine, which they had drank in the morning sacrifices, discover themselves to be Christians, used water in the eucharist instead of wine, is so full a demonstration that the wine ought always to be taken in the sacrament, and that Christ’s institution and command could not otherwise be observed; that there needs no other arguments, but what that great man there uses, to shew the necessity of Christians communicating in both the species of bread and wine; Christ,§ says he, “gave the cup, and we are to do that which Christ did, and ought by no means to depart from what was commanded by Christ, and delivered by the Apostles, upon any custom or pretence whatsoever. How shall we drink,” says he, “of the fruit of the vine with Christ, in the kingdom of his Father, if

* Gravior nunc et ferocior pugna imminet, ad quam parare debent milites Christi, considerantes idcirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere. Ep. 58. ad plebem Thiberitanam. [p. 120.] Edit. Oxon. [1682.]

† Nam quomodo docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione nominis sanguinem suum fundere, si eis militaturis Christi sanguinem denegamus? Aut quomodo ad Martyrii poculum idoneos facimus, si non eos prius ad bibendum in Ecclesia poculum Domini jure communionis admittimus? Ep. 57. ad Cornel. [Ibid. p. 117.]

‡ Ep. 63. Cæcilio fratri. [Ibid. p. 152.] Simili modo et calicem,—quod si et a Domino præcipitur, et ab Apostolo ejus hoc idem confirmatur et traditur—hoc faciamus quod fecit et Dominus; invenimus non observari a nobis quod mandatum, nisi eadem quæ Dominus fecit nos quoque faciamus, et calicem Dom. pari ratione miscentes a divino Magisterio non recedamus. Ib. Quod nos obaudire et facere oportet, quod Christus fecit et faciendum esse mandavit. Ib. [p. 154.]

§ Quare si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere, quod alius ante nos faciendum putaverit, sed quid, qui ante omnes est, Christus prior fecerit. Ib. [p. 155.]

we do not now offer the wine in the sacrifice, and mingle the cup of the Lord as he delivered it to us?"* And that this wine was drank by all Christians, is plain from that fear which some had, lest by their drinking it in the morning, they should smell of it,† and so discover themselves to the heathens: it was then, it seems, a mark to know Christians by, that they did smell of the blood of Christ; which if they had done as the Papists now do, they need not have been afraid of. But to proceed to others, who, though they speak less of this than St. Cyprian, yet speak plainly of Christians taking the blood as well as the body. Athanasius speaking of the cup, says, "It belongs to the priests of right, to give this to the people."‡ St. Basil, in one of his epistles, says, "It is good and profitable to communicate every day of the body and blood of Christ:"§ and speaking of the peculiar virtues of Christians, asks, "What is proper to those that eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord?"|| Denoting that to belong to all Christians. St. Chrysostom, in his oratorian manner, speaks of Christians, "as being all dyed and purpled with the blood of Christ:"¶ and thus compares all Christians in general with the Israelites, "As thou eatest the body of Christ, so did they manna; as thou drinkest the blood of Christ, so did they water out of the rock."** And in another place he expressly observes, what I have taken notice of before,†† "that it is not now as under the Jewish law, where the priest partook of several things from the altar, which the people did not: there is no difference between the priest

* Quomodo autem de creatura vitis novum vinum cum Christo in regno patris bibemus, si in sacrificio Dei Patris et Christi vinum non offerimus, nec calicem Domini dominica traditione miscemus? Ib. [Ibid. p. 152.]

† Nisi in sacrificiis matutinis hoc quis veretur, ne per saporem vini redoleat sanguinem Christi. Ib. p. 115.

‡ Τοῦτο ὑμεῖς νομίμως προπίνετε τοῖς λαοῖς. Apolog. 2. [vol. 1. p. 569. Heidelb. 1601.]

§ Μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ ἀγίου αἵματος καὶ σώματος Χριστοῦ. Ep. ad Cæsar. [vol. 3. p. 267. Par. 1839.]

|| Τί ἴδιον τῶν ἐσθιόντων ἄρτου καὶ πινόντων τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ; Id. Moral. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 445.]

¶ Πάντας ἔκείνουν τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους αἷματι. De Sacerdot. 1. 3. [vol. 1. p. 382. Par. 1718.]

** Καθάπερ σὺ τὸ σῶμα ἐσθίεις τὸ δεσποτικὸν, οὕτως ἔκείνοι τὸ μάννα, καὶ ὡσπερ σὺ τὸ αἷμα πίνεις, οὕτως ἔκείνοι ὕστῳ ἐκ πέτρας. Id. Homil. 23. in 1 Cor. [vol. 10. p. 203. Par. 1732.]

†† Οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς, τάδε ὁ ἱερεὺς ἥσθιε, τάδε ὁ ἐρχόμενος. καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὃν μετεῖχεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐν σῶμα πρόκειται καὶ τὸ ἐν ποτήριον. Id. in Homil. 18. in 2 Cor. [Ibid. p. 568.]

and the people, when we come to receive the holy mysteries ; for one body and one cup is offered to all." St. Jerome says, "The priests serve the eucharist, and divide the blood of the Lord among the people."* And upon occasion, speaks of some loose and vicious women, who "yet would not abstain from the blood of Christ."† So that this, it is plain, was taken by the women. St. Austin to the newly baptized Christians, says, "that in all their trials, and their time of being catechumens, they did approve themselves, that they might eat the Lord's body and drink the cup."‡ And speaking of the prohibition of blood to the Jews, because it was offered in sacrifice ; "but from taking the blood of the sacrifice of our Lord, none," says he, "is not only forbidden, but all are exhorted to drink of it, who will have life."§ I might easily bring down the like clear authorities of ancient writers much lower, even to the times of the very Schoolmen, who are the first that ever mention anything about the communion in one kind : but that I may not overload myself or my reader, I shall only offer one or two more of much later date, but yet more considerable, to our adversaries at least, because they believed transubstantiation, but had not, it seems, improved it into that consequence, which superstition afterwards did, of communicating in one kind : Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbey, was the very parent of transubstantiation, and the first founder of that doctrine, in the ninth century ; yet in the same book, in which he broaches that new opinion, he fully and plainly asserts the old practice of the communion in both kinds, "The priest," says he,|| "consecrates by the power of Christ, and performs the part of Christ, between God and the people ; he offers their prayers and oblations to God, and what he hath obtained of God, he

* Sacerdotes Eucharistiae serviunt, et sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt. Hieron. in Sophon. c. 2.

† Ebrietati sacrilegium copulantes aiunt, Absit ut ego me a Christi sanguine obstineam. Id. Ep. ad Eustoch.

‡ Ut cum seipsos probaverint, tunc de mensa Domini manducent, et de calice bibant. August. de fide et Oper. [vol. 6. p. 169. Par. 1685.]

§ Ab hujus sacrificii sanguine in alimentum sumendo non solum nemo prohibetur, sed ad bibendum omnes exhortantur qui volunt habere vitam. Id. in Levit. qu. 57. [vol. 3. par. 1. p. 517. Par. 1680.]

|| Cæterum sacerdos, quia vices Christi visibili specie inter Deum et populum agere videtur, infert per manus Angeli vota populi ad Deum et refert : Vota quidem offert et munera, refert autem imperata per corpus et sanguinem, et distribuit singulis. Paschas. de corpore et sanguine Domini. c. 12. [Max. Biblioth. Patr. vol. 14. p. 741. col. 1. Lugd. 1677.]

renders to them, by the body and blood of Christ, which he distributes to every one of them." Those *singuli* must be the people, whose prayers the priest offered, and to whom he distributed the blood as well as the body of Christ ; and to shew further, that the blood was given in the sacrament, not to the priest only, but to the people, he most expressly says, "that when Christ gives the sacrament by the hands of the ministers, he says also by them, Take, and drink ye all of this ; as well ministers as all the rest that believe, this is the cup of my blood of the new and everlasting testament."* Than which words there could nothing have been said that does more directly destroy the late pretence of our adversaries, of the cup's being given, and belonging only to the priests, or ministers, and not to all the faithful, or the *reliqui credentes* : but he still goes further as to this matter, and makes the partaking of the blood to be necessary to salvation in another chapter : "It is manifest," says he,† "that in this mortal life we cannot live without meat and drink ; so therefore likewise can we not come to eternal life, unless we are spiritually nourished with those two unto immortality ;" and speaks of the cup in the very next words. To him I shall add Algerus, a very zealous defender of Paschasius's doctrine of transubstantiation, and as heartily agreeing with him in the practice and necessity of communicating in both kinds ; because, says he, "we so live by meat and drink, that we can want neither, therefore Christ would have them both in his sacrament :‡ and as he redeemed both our body and our soul, by his body and blood ; so he argues,§ we ought to partake both of his body and of his blood, that our whole man may be quickened by both." Then he quotes St. Austin and Gelasius, for the taking of both

* Et ideo hic solus est qui frangit hunc panem, et per manus ministrorum distribuit creditibus, dicens, Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes tam Ministri quam et reliqui credentes, hic est calix sanguinis mei novi et æterni testamenti. Ib. c. 15. [p. 743. col. 2.]

† Constat igitur et liquet omnibus, quod in hac mortali vita sine cibo et potu non vivitur, sic itaque ad illam æternam non pervenitur, nisi duobus istis ad immortalitatem nutriatur. Ib. c. 19. [p. 745. col. 1.]

‡ Unde etiam quia potu et cibo ita vivimus ut alterutro carere nequeamus, utrumque in Sacramento suo esse voluit. Algerus de Sacramento. l. 2. c. 5.

§ Nos qui corpore et anima perieramus, corpus per corpus, et animam per animam, Christus redimens—simil corpus et sanguis sumitur a fidelibus —ut sumpto corpore et anima Christi totus homo vivificetur. Ib. c. 8.

species,* "from whence," as St. Austin says, "neither the flesh is rightly communicated without the blood, nor the blood without the flesh." So also Gelasius to Majoricus, and John Bishops, "We find that some taking only the part of the body, abstain from the cup of the holy blood; who ought unquestionably either to take the whole sacrament, or to be kept wholly from it; because the division of one and the same sacrament cannot be without grand sacrilege." He that had this belief, and these arguments for it, could not but be a great enemy to the mutilated and sacrilegious communion in one kind, however great a friend he was to transubstantiation; and his authority and his words are the more remarkable, because he lived in the twelfth century, which makes him, as a great many others then were, which I could produce, an undeniable evidence, that that corruption was not brought into the Latin Church till the next age; against which, we have the full testimony of both ancient and later writers.

4. It appears by some ancient customs, that Christians were so far from receiving the sacrament only in one kind, that they used extraordinary care and contrivance to receive it in both kinds: from hence it was that they used intinction, or dipping of the bread in the wine, which was very early, as appears by the decree of Pope Julius, who forbade it in the third century.† It is probable that it was thus given to the sick, as in the instance of Serapion, and to infants in the time of St. Cyprian, which we shall have occasion to consider afterwards: in the Council of Braga, in the seventh age,‡ this custom, which it seems continued, was prohibited in the very words almost of Pope Julius; so that some learned men mistake the one for the other; afterwards in the Council of Clermont, as it is given by Baronius, the twenty-eighth canon "forbids any to communicate of the altar, unless he take the

* Unde, ut ait Augustinus, nec caro sine sanguine, nec sanguis sine carne jure communicatur. Item Gelasius Majorico et Joanni Episcopis; Comperimus quod quidam, sumpta tantum corporis portione, a calice sacri cruxis abstineant, qui proculdubio aut integra Sacraenta accipiant aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. Ib c. 8.

† Illud vero quod pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex Evangelio testimonium recipit, ubi Apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem commendavit; seorsum enim panis et seorsum calicis commendatio memoratur. Julius Papa Episcopis per Aegypt. apud Gratian. decret. de Consecr. 3 Pars dist. 2. [vol. 1. p. 1915. Lugd. 1671.]

‡ Concil. Bracarense. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 6. p. 563. Lut. Par. 1671.]

body separately, and the blood also separately, unless through necessity, and with caution.”* This intinction was generally forbid, unless in some cases, as of the sick, and the like ; to whom the Council of Tours† commands that the sacrament be thus given, steeped and dipped, and that for a most considerable reason, “that the priest might truly say to the person to whom he gave it, the body and blood of Christ be profitable to thee for remission of sins.” This, it seems, could not have been truly said to them, unless they had some way or other given them both kinds. That this intinction was also in use in private monasteries, appears from several manuscripts produced by Menardus ;‡ and it is notorious, that the whole Greek Churches do use it to this day in the communion, not only of the sick and infants, but of all laics. I am not concerned to defend or justify this custom, nor to say anything more about it, but only to observe this plain inference from it, that they who thus used intinction, or the mixing and steeping of the elements together, did hereby plainly declare, that it was necessary to give the sacrament in both kinds, and not in one. I might make also the same remark upon the several heretical customs of using water or milk instead of wine, as it appears in St. Cyprian and Pope Julius, to have been the manner of some, who though they were very blameable, and justly censured for so doing, yet they hereby confessed, that there ought to be two species given in the sacrament, a liquid one as well as a solid. The Romanists and the Manichees are the only Christians who ever thought otherwise. When the doctrine of transubstantiation began to creep into the Church, in the time of Berengarius, and some Christians were thereupon possessed with a greater fear of spilling the blood of Christ : they did not however at first leave drinking the cup for that reason, but they brought in another custom to prevent spilling : which was, to fasten little pipes or quills to the chalices they then used, and through them to suck the consecrated wine. This appears in the order of celebrating mass by the Pope, taken out of several books

* Ne quis communicet de altari, nisi corpus separatim et sanguinem similiter sumit, nisi per necessitatem et per cautelam. Canones Concilii Claramont. apud Baron. Annal. An. 1094. sect. 25. [An. 1095. sect. 27.] [vol. 18. p. 24. col. 1. Luc. 1746.]

† Quæ sacra oblatio intincta esse debet in sanguine Christi, ut veraciter Presbyter possit dicere infirmo : Corpus et sanguis Domini proficiat tibi. Apud Burchard. l. 5. c. 9. et Cassand. Dialog. p. 5.

‡ Not. in Gregor. Sacrament.

of the *Ordo Romanus*, in Cassander's Liturgies, "the archdeacon receives of the regiornary subdeacon a pugillaris, with which he confirms the people :" * Cassander in his notes upon the word *pugillaris*, says, "they were pipes or canes, with which the sacramental blood was sucked out of the chalice." † And he says he had seen several of these in his time: so that in those times when the fear of effusion was greater than it was in the time of the Apostles and primitive Christians, who yet had as much reverence, no doubt, for the sacrament as any after ages, they were so unwilling to be deprived of the precious blood of their Saviour in the sacrament, that though their superstition made them contrive new ways to receive it, yet they could not be contented to be wholly without it: but,

5. The custom still remaining in all other Churches of the Christian world, except the Roman, of communicating in both kinds, is a demonstration of its apostolical and primitive practice, and of an universal and uninterrupted tradition for it; we see plainly where this practice was broke, and this tradition violated in the Roman Church, after above 1200 years, till which time it bears witness against itself, and condemns its own late innovation, which is contrary not only to all former ages, but to the present practice of all other Christian churches. I need not produce witnesses to prove this, the matter of fact is plain and undeniable, and none of their writers can, or do pretend the contrary, as to public and general communion concerning any Christians, except those few that they have lately brought over by their well known arts, to submit to the Roman Church, as the Maronites and the Indians of St. Thomas: all the other vast number of Christians over the world, the Greeks, the Muscovites, the Russians, the Æthopians, the Armenians, the Assyrians, the Nestorians, the Georgians, and others, do all administer the eucharist to the people in both kinds: there is some little difference indeed among them in the manner of doing it; as some of them take the two species mingled together in a spoon, as the Muscovites; others dip the bread in the wine, as the Armenians; but they all agree in this, that they always receive both the species of bread and wine in the sacrament, and never give the one without the other. Cassander has collected several of their

* Archidiaconus accepto a subdiacono regionario pugillari, cum quo confirmet populum. Cassander Liturg. in ordine celebrat. Miss. per Romanos celebrante pontifice. [ut supra, p. 51.]

† Fistulæ seu cannæ, quibus sanguis e Dominico calice exugebatur. Ib.

rites and orders in their public liturgies, as of the Syrians, the Æthiopians, the Armenians, the Abyssinians in the kingdom of Prester John ; of whom he says, that “as many as communicate of the body, communicate of the blood also.”* But we need not call in any other Churches to vouch for the universal and primitive practice of the communion in both kinds. We have in the last place,

6. The most learned of our adversaries, who cannot but confess this, and therefore are forced to take other measures to defend their cause ; namely, by the authority of the present Church, and not by the tradition or practice of the Primitive, as de Meaux vainly attempts to do ; which they freely give up and acknowledge to be contrary to the communion, as it is now practised in one kind. Cassander has fully and plainly declared his mind in a particular treatise on this subject, among his works printed at Paris, and in his Dialogue, which was put out by Calixtus, not being among his other works ; in his Consultation, and in his Liturgies : “Concerning the administration,” he says, “of the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, it is sufficiently known, that the universal Church of Christ to this very day, and the Western or Roman, for above a thousand years after Christ did exhibit both the species of bread and wine to all the members of the church of Christ, especially in the solemn and ordinary dispensation of this sacrament, which appears from innumerable testimonies, both of ancient Greek and Latin writers.”† In his Dialogue, speaking against those who pretended that the use of either one or both kinds was indifferent, and who endeavoured to make this out by the authority and practice of the Primitive Church, which is the way which de Meaux takes, he thus seriously and heartily gives his judgment, “I have searched,” says he,‡ “and that not slightly, the

* Quotquot communicant de corpore, totidem communicant etiam de sanguine. Cassand. Liturg. [Ibid. p. 28.] Reliquis omnibus nationibus Christiani nominis, ut Græcis, Ruthenis, Armenis, Æthiopibus, priscum institutum porrigi populo sanguinis in hunc usque diem retinentibus. Id. Dialog.

† De administratione sacrosancti Sacramenti Eucharistiae satis compertum est, universalem Christi Ecclesiam in hunc usque diem ; Occidentalem vero seu Romanam mille amplius a Christo annis in solenni præsertim et ordinaria hujus sacramenti dispensatione utramque panis et vini speciem omnibus Ecclesiæ Christi membris exhibuisse, id quod ex innumeris veterum scriptorum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum testimoniosis manifestum est. Cassandri consultatio de utraque specie sacramenti.

‡ Evidem haud oscitanter et veteris Ecclesiæ consuetudinem perscrutatus sum, et attento æquoque animo, eorum scripta, qui hoc argumentum

custom of the ancient Church, and I profess I have read the writings of those who have handled this argument with an attent and impartial mind, and have weighed the reasons by which they endeavour to prove this indifferent custom; but neither could I yet find any firm proof, which could not be most plainly refuted, although I most earnestly desired it; but there remain many, and those the most strong reasons, which do evince the contrary.” And because de Meaux pretends that there are some instances of public communion in the Church in one kind, I will add one other testimony of that great man, who, after the strictest search and inquiry into every thing in antiquity, that could be brought to colour any such thing, thus determines, “Wherefore I do not think that it can be shewn, that for a whole thousand years and more, that this most holy sacrament of the eucharist was ever administered from the Lord’s table, in the holy communion, to the faithful people in any part of the catholic Church, otherwise than under both the symbols of bread and wine.”* Wicelius, another divine of great learning and judgment, agrees fully with Cassander, “It is confessed that the holy sumption from the ecclesiastic altar, was equally common to all Christians for salvation, through all the times of the New Testament,”† by which he means of the Christian Church, as appears by what immediately follows, “It is a little obliterated, indeed, among us of the Western Church, and separated from a promiscuous use for some reasons, but not wholly blotted out and destroyed.”‡ For it was then granted to some, as to the Bohemians. “Of this thing,” that is, of the holy sumption common to all Christians, “since we are§ encom-

tractarunt, legisse, et rationes quibus indifferentem eum morem probare nituntur, expendisse profiteor; neque tamen firmam ullam demonstrationem quæ non apertissime refelli possit, reperire hactenus potui, quamvis id vehementer exoptassem; quin multæ et firmissimæ rationes suppeditunt, quæ contrarium evincunt. G. Cassand. Dialog. apud Calixt. p. 6.

* Quare nec puto demonstrari totis mille amplius annis in ulla Catholicæ Ecclesiæ parte sacrosanctum hoc Eucharistiæ Sacramentum aliter in sacra synaxi e mensa Dominica fideli populo, quam sub utroque panis et vini symbolo, administratum fuisse. Id. de Sac. Com. sub utraque specie, p. 1027. [Par. 1616.]

† Est in confesso sumptionem sanctam de altari Ecclesiastico æque omnibus Christianis communem extitisse ad salutem per omnia novi testamenti tempora. Vicel. via Reg. tit. de utr. Specie.

‡ Obliteratam quidem paulisper apud nos occidentales, et ab usu promis-
cuo semotam suas ob causas, at non deletam omnino atque extinctam. Ib.

§ Eiusce rei cum nube quadam certissimorum testium septi sumus.
πληροφορίαν amplectimur omni excluso dubio. Ib.

passed with a cloud of most certain witnesses, we embrace this as a most sure thing without any doubt." And therefore in his account of abuses, he reckons that of the communion in one kind.* But lest these two men, though their learning and credit be unquestionable, should be thought, through their great temper and moderation, to have yielded more in this cause than others of that communion, I shall shew that the same has been done by others, who cannot be suspected to have granted more than the mere force of truth extorted from them. Thomas Aquinas, who was the first man that proposed that question to be disputed, "Whether it were lawful to take the body of Christ without the blood?"† And who first tells us, that "it was the use of many churches so to do,"‡ though Bonaventure, his contemporary, who died the same year, mentions nothing of it; he in his comment upon the sixth of St. John, where he says, "It was observed," not in many, but "in some churches, that for fear of effusion, the priest alone communicated of the blood, and the rest of the body,"§ freely owns, that "according to the custom of the ancient Church, all persons as they communicated of the body, so they communicated also of the blood;"|| and this, he adds, "is as yet also observed in some churches."¶ Which shews that this half communion was not universally brought into the Latin Church in the thirteenth century. Salmeron the Jesuit says, "We ingenuously and openly confess" (which ingenuity it were to be wished, Monsieur de Meaux had had), "that it was the general custom to communicate the laics under both species."** Cardinal Bona, upon this subject owns,†† that "it is certain that

* Id. Elench. abus.

† Utrum liceat sumere corpus Christi sine sanguine. Th. Aquin. Sum. pars 3. qu. 80. art. 12. [vol. 24. p. 439. col. 1. Venet. 1787.]

‡ Multarum Ecclesiarum usus, in quibus populo communicanti datur corpus Christi sumendum, non autem sanguis. Ib.

§ Propter periculum effusionis in aliquibus Ecclesiis servatur, ut solus sacerdos communicet sanguine, reliqui vero corpore. Id. in Johan. 6. [vol. 3. p. 523. col. 1. Venet. 1775.]

|| Dicendum, quod secundum antiquae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, omnes sicut communicabant corpore, ita communicabant et sanguine. Ib.

¶ Quod etiam adhuc in aliquibus Ecclesiis servatur. Ib.

** Ingenui et aperti confitemur morem generalem extitisse communicandi etiam laicos sub utraque specie. Salmeron. Tract. 35.

†† Certum quippe est omnes passim clericos et laicos, viros et mulieres, sub utraque specie sacra mysteria antiquitus sumsisse, cum solenni eorum celebrationi aderant, — consentiunt omnes tam Catholici quam sectarii,

clergymen every where and laics, men and women, did anciently receive the holy mysteries under both kinds, when they were present at the solemn celebration of them: in this," says he, "all, both catholics and sectaries agree, neither can any one deny it, who is endued with the least knowledge of the ecclesiastical affairs; for at all times, and in all places, from the first beginnings of the Church, even to the twelfth age, the faithful communicated under the species of bread and wine." Nay, Bellarmine himself owns, that "both Christ instituted under both species, and that the ancient Church ministered under both species; but the multitude increasing, this was found more and more inconvenient, and so by degrees the custom of both kinds ceased."* But when did it cease? Not so soon as Christians grew very numerous, for that they were long before this was practised, in the most flourishing ages of Christianity, but after the new doctrine of transubstantiation made them grow superstitious, and afraid to spill that liquor, which they were taught to believe was the very substantial and natural blood of Christ. It is plain from Thomas Aquinas, that it was not wholly ceased in the thirteenth century, and Valentia† owns that it was but a little before the Council of Constance. "It was not so‡ much by the command of the bishops, as by the practice and use of the people, it was first disused," says Castor, in his Enchiridion, where he owns, that "in the time of Cyprian the people received both species."§ But when the bishops took advantage of that superstition they had taught the people, and made this new custom of theirs a law of the Church; yet in that very Council which first commanded the communion in one kind, "it was owned, that it used to be received of the faithful in both, in the Pri-

nec eam negare potest qui vel levissima rerum Ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus sit: semper enim et ubique ab Ecclesiae primordiis usque ad seculum duodecimum sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles. Bona rer. Liturg. l. 2. [p. 323. col. 2. Venet. 1764.] c. 18.

* Nam Christus instituit quidem sub duplice specie, Ecclesia autem vetus ministrabat sub duplice specie; crescente autem multitudine magis et magis apparuit incommodum, et sic paulatim desit usus sub utraque. Bellarm. l. 4. c. 4. de Euch.

† De legit. usu Euch. c. 10. [p. 656. c. 2. Lut. Par. 1610.]

‡ Estque hoc diligenter notandum alterius speciei communionem non tam Episcoporum mandato quam populi usu et facto introductam, p. 415.

§ Quia suo, i. e. Cypriani tempore populus utramque speciem sumebat. Ib. p. 421.

mitive Church;* but to prevent some scandals and dangers," which the Primitive Church, it seems, never thought of, nor took care to avoid, as the people themselves now did, "the Council declares this custom to be fitly brought in, and so decrees it to be observed under the penalty of excommunication." The Council of Trent also acknowledges, though as sparingly as may be, that "in the beginnings of Christian religion, the use of both kinds was not infrequent or unusual;"† why truly, that which was constant was not infrequent, "but in the progress of time;" it was a pretty long progress from the beginning of Christianity to the thirteenth century, "that custom being very widely changed, for great and just causes," such as the laymen's dipping their beards in the wine, when in the primitive times, I suppose, they had no beards, "it approved the custom of communicating in one kind," though contrary to the custom of the whole Primitive Church for above a thousand years; who must yet have had the same reasons to have done it, if they had been such great and just ones: for there can be no other reason given now, but what would have been as good five hundred or a thousand years before; but they having altered the doctrine of the Primitive Church, this was a just reason to alter the practice. I might add several other confessions of their own learned men, for the primitive practice of communion in both kinds, as Albaspinæus, de la Cerdæ, and many others, but it might be tedious to my reader as well as myself; I will conclude with one whom Monsieur de Meaux is very well acquainted with, and whom he knows to be as great a master in antiquity and all learning as any the French Church now has; and I will beg leave to put the same words to Monsieur de Meaux, that he does to Monsieur Arnaud, "Will any one deny this use of the eucharistic communion to have been in both kinds, in the times of the Apostles? And that it continued in the Church many ages after? No man can deny or question this, unless

* *Licet in primitiva Ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen hæc consuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala, est rationabiliter introducta. Concil. Constant. sess. 13. [Labbe, Concil. 12. p. 100. Lut. Par. 1672.]*

† *Licet ab initio Christianæ religionis non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset, tamen progressu temporis, latissime jam mutata illa consuetudine de gravibus et justis causis adducta, hanc consuetudinem sub altera specie communicandi approbavit. Sess. 5. Canone 2. de Doctr.*

he be willing to be reckoned either in the last rank of unlearned, or in the first of imprudent men.”*

And now having given so full a proof that the communion in both kinds was the practice of the Primitive Church, which I have done so largely, because Monsieur de Meaux has the face to deny this, and to attempt to prove the contrary; it will be very strange, if after so many affirmative evidences, who all unanimously and positively declare, that the communion was always in both kinds, there should be any negative testimonies produced to the contrary, who shall fully contradict these, and depose that it was very often the custom of the Church to communicate but in one. Monsieur de Meaux has made it his business to do this, and brings several instances out of antiquity to shew, that the communion was very frequently given in the Primitive Church but in one kind, as “in the communion of the sick, the communion of infants, domestic communion,” and which, as he tells us, is very surprising, “the public communion in the Church.” If he can but make out one of these customs, to wit, the latter, that of public communion in the Church, it will be much more considerable than all his other; for if they should prove true, namely, that in particular and extraordinary cases of necessity, to which we know all positive precepts are to give way, the communion was given but in one kind to those who were incapable to receive both, as to sick persons and children, or that in times of persecution Christians did carry home only the bread with them, that so they might eat it in private, when they could not so conveniently carry home the wine; what will this signify to the justifying the constant and public communions in one kind, when there are no such particular or extraordinary reasons for it, and the establishing this by a law, as a standing and necessary practice to be observed by the whole Church? The doing this, is as if the Jews, because whilst they were in the wilderness they could not so well observe the precept of circumcision, and so were at that time for a particular reason excused from it, should ever after have omitted it as unnecessary, and have thought fit at last to forbid it by a law of their Sanhedrim: this sure had been making

* Negabitne hunc Eucharisticæ sub utraque specie communionis usum Apostolicis temporibus fuisse? Multisque inde sæculis apud Ecclesiam perseverasse? Atqui hoc negare vel inficiari non potest, nisi vel in ultima indoctorum, vel certe in prima imprudentium hominum classe censeri velit. Petav. de Pœnit. pub. c. 5.]

too bold with a positive precept, although there might be a particular case or instance wherein it was not so exactly to be observed: every Christian is obliged to have and to read the word of God, notwithstanding that there may be instances of some who are dumb or blind, who are incapable, and so excused from those otherwise necessary duties, as the sick and the captives, and the deaf are, from coming to public prayers and public worship; and where there are the like particular exceptions, and as particular reasons for not receiving the sacrament in both kinds, as in the sick, and infants, who cannot swallow the bread, the *abstemii*, who naturally abhor wine and the like, there without any derogating to the general law of Christ, they may be dispensed withal by virtue of that necessity, which takes away the obligation of all positive laws; but it will not at all follow from hence, that the law does not oblige in all other cases. If Monsieur de Meaux therefore could prove, as he offers to do, but upon what false or at least dubious grounds I shall consider by and by, that the sick and infants who could not swallow the bread, did receive only the wine; and that in the times of persecution, when they could not come so often to the public communion, that they communicated at home only of that bread which they could carry away and keep safely by them, when they could not so well either keep or carry away the wine; this will by no means justify the single communion to all persons, and at all other times, when there is no such particular necessity or extraordinary reason for it: though they might in those cases hope for the benefit of the sacrament, and not doubt but that God would bestow it upon them, though they received it but in one kind, when they could not receive both, yet there is not the same reason to expect it at other times when we may, and so are obliged to both; as the Jews whilst in the wilderness, might hope to enjoy all the benefits of circumcision, and being in covenant with God, though they did not then observe the law and institution of that sacrament, but this they could not expect, but would certainly have forfeited, if they did not punctually observe it afterwards, as it was commanded them.

And as for the two instances he brings of public communion in the Church in one kind, as on Good-Friday in the Latin Church, and all Lent in the "mass of the pre-sanctified," in the Greek, were those true, as I shall shew they are not, but that both species were used in both those com-

munions, yet they being such communions as were particular to those days, and remarkably different from the communions at all other times of the year, would plainly prove, that the ordinary and usual communions upon all other days, and at all other times, were constantly in both kinds in the Latin and Greek Church : if they were not, why are these picked out by him as single instances of communions in one kind ? By this he plainly acknowledges, that these differed from the stated and constant communions, and so confesses that those were in both kinds : and though he ventures to say, that in the ordinary office the Church received either both species, or one only; yet this is so wholly without any shadow of proof, that I wonder he would expose the credit of his learning, or his honesty upon so notorious a falsehood, that has not the least fig-leaf to cover its shame ; for as to the decrees of Pope Leo and Gelasius against communicating in one kind, to make these an argument for it, is a piece of such refined art and skill, as nobody but de Meaux could have found out or made use of ; but because the strength of his book lies upon the truth of these instances of his, though I think that be already shaken, yet I shall take it down to the very foundation, and shew how weak that is, and how unable to bear what he would build upon it.

The first custom he alleges of communion in one kind, is that of the sick ;* the two examples he gives of this, are Serapion and St. Ambrose, neither of which are sufficient to his purpose ; as to the first, we have the account of it in an epistle of St. Dennis of Alexandria, in the History of Eusebius :† he was in the state of penance, having lapsed in a former persecution, and at his death desired the eucharist to be given as a token of peace and communion with the Church ; which was a favour thought fit to be then granted to penitents ; to this purpose he sent for the priest, but he being sick, and it being in the night-time, upon consideration of his extremity and nearness to death, for he had lain three days speechless and senseless before he came to himself, and had desired this ; the priest, rather than he should want this comfort, sent him by the young man who came to him,‡ “ a small parcel of the eucharist, bidding him moisten it, and so put it into the mouth

* Communion of sick.

† L. 6. c. 44. [p. 246. Par. 1659.]

‡ Βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπέδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποθρέξαι κελεύσας, καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῳ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. Ib.

of the old man ;” which he did, and so he immediately gave up the ghost. “ Now here,” says de Meaux,* “ although it appears from this relation, that the priest sent only to his penitent that part of the sacrament which was solid, in that he ordained only the young man whom he sent, to moisten it in some liquor before he gave it to the sick person ; yet the good old man never complained that any thing was wanting.” But how does it appear from this relation, that he sent only the bread, or what was solid ; does $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$, “ a little of the sacrament,” which is the thing he is said to send, signify only bread or the solid part ? Or does it not rather signify a little of both the species which make the sacrament ; as it plainly does in Justin Martyr, who speaking of that sacramental food under both kinds, says, this $\tau\rho\phi\bar{\eta}$ is called by us $\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$;† and why might he not give him a little wine as well as a little bread ? And why may we not suppose that the liquor he was to moisten the bread in, was the wine ? And not as Valesius, without any grounds, put in his translation, water. I believe it is a thing strange and unheard of in antiquity, to mix the eucharistic bread with mere water, and so take it infused in water without any wine. Monsieur de Meaux, who says the custom of mixing the two species together, was not in use till after ages (not in public I own, but in private it might), will be more hard put to it to shew the custom of mixing the species of bread with water ; and this was so mixed with some liquor, that it was rather fluid than solid, and so was said to be infused or poured into his mouth.‡ That the wine was used to be carried to the sick as well as the bread, is plain from Justin Martyr, if those who were absent from the public communion, were, as it is probable, the sick ; for to them the deacons carried the very same that they gave to those that were present, without any manner of difference,§ as is plain from that fore-quoted place in his second Apology. And St. Jerome relates of Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, that he carried the body of our Lord in a basket, and the blood in a vessel of glass,|| after he had sold the rich utensils and plate of the

* P. 11.

† Apolog. 2. [Apol. 1.] [p. 83. Par. 1742.]

‡ Ενέχεε τῷ στόματι. [Euseb.] Ib. [p. 246.]

§ Διδόσασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὑδατος, καὶ τοις οὐ παρούσιν ἀποφέρουσι. Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2. [Apolog. 1.] [Ibid.]

|| Qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro. Ep. ad Rustic. Monach. [vol. 1. p. 941, 942. Veron. 1735.]

Church to relieve the poor and redeem captives: and the Council of Tours thought the wine so necessary as well as the bread, that it commands, “That the bread be always dipped in the cup, that so the priest may truly say, The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ avail unto thee for the remission of sins, and to eternal life.” This Cassander* produces as a demonstration, that the communion of the sick used to be in both kinds; and the reason which is there given for this, is so considerable, that it plainly shews that both species were necessary to make it a true sacrament; and that neither the body and blood of Christ, nor the virtue and benefit of them could be given without both; and this forces de Meaux to confess,† after all his shifts and artifices, that in effect it is true that in some sense, to be able to call it the body and the blood, the two species must be given. And further, from hence also the whole doctrine of transubstantiation and concomitancy grounded upon it, whereby they suppose the body and blood of Christ to be in either of the species, is wholly overthrown and destroyed; but this by the by. As to Serapion, it is strange that the priest should not rather have sent him the wine alone, if he had intended him but one species, that being more fit to be received, and more proper “to enter the parched throat of an agonizing man,” as de Meaux speaks, than the bread, however moistened; and therefore it was provided both by the canons of some Councils ‡ and the decrees of some Popes, § that in cases of extraordinary necessity (which dispense with positive precepts) the sick and dying who could not swallow the bread, might communicate only with the wine; but to give them only bread, as de Meaux would have it in both his instances of Serapion and St. Ambrose, who were both a dying, and not to give them the more proper species of wine, was very strange, if they had designed them but one only species without the other: but I pass to consider that of St. Ambrose by itself. Paulinus, who wrote his life, relates this of his

* Ego sane demonstrare possum etiam infirmis plenum corporis et sanguinis sacramentum dispensatum, certe in promptu est capitulum Turenensis Concilii quod ab Ivone, Reginone et Burchardo adducitur, quo jubetur ut Eucharistia quæ in viaticum e vita excedentium reservatur, intincta sit in calicem Domini, ut presbyter veraciter possit dicere, corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi propositi tibi in vitam æternam. Cassand. Dialog. apud Calixt. p. 5. † P. 52.

‡ Concil. Carthag. 4. Toled. 11. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 6. p. 552.]

§ Paschal. 2. Urban. 2.

death, that “Honaratus, bishop of Vercelles, being to visit him in the night, whilst he was at his repose, he heard this voice three times, Rise, stay not, he is a dying : he went down and gave him the body of our Lord, and the saint had no sooner received it, but he gave up the ghost.” So that it seems he died and received only one kind ; but who can help that if he died before he could receive the other, as is probable from the history he did : if the Roman priest did, like Honoratus, give only the bread to those, who when they have received it die before they can take the cup, this would be a very justifiable excuse, and needs no great authority to defend it ; but if they will undertake to prove that St. Ambrose had time enough to have received the cup as well as the bread before he died, which they must merely by supposing something more than is in the history ; then by the very same way I will prove that he did receive the cup, and that that, by a synecdoche, is to be understood as well as the bread, by the body of Christ, which he is there said to receive : and I am sure I have a better argument for this than they have against it, or than these two instances of Serapion and St. Ambrose are for the custom of communicating the sick in one kind, and that is a full proof of a contrary custom for their communicating in both. I confess I cannot produce any very ancient testimonies for this, because in the first ages the faithful who used to receive the communion very frequently in public, it being in itself and its own nature a true part of public worship, did seldom or never take it upon their death-beds in private ;* and therefore they who give us an account of the death of several very pious and devout Christians, as Athanasius of St. Anthony, Gregory Nazianzen of Athanasius, of his own father, and of his sister Gorgonia, yet they never mention any thing of their receiving the sacrament at their deaths ; no more does Eusebius,† in his history of the death of Helena, the most zealous mother of Constantine : but so soon as Christians came to receive the sacrament as the most comfortable *viaticum* at their deaths, which was not till after ages, then by whatever instances it appears that they received it at all, it appears also, that they received it in both kinds ; and it is plain, that among the numerous examples of this nature, which are to be found in Bede and Surius, and the writers of the saints’ lives, there is not one to

* Vide Dallaeum de Cult. l. 4. c. 3.

† De vita Constant. l. 3. c. 46. [ut supra, p. 506.]

be produced to the contrary ; else no doubt the learned Bishop of Meaux, who picks up every thing that seems to make for his purpose, and who was fain to content himself with those two insignificant ones of Serapion and St. Ambrose, would not have omitted them. I shall mention some few in opposition to those two of his, of those who according to St. Austin's advice,* "when they were sick, did partake both of the body and of the blood of Christ," contrary to what they would have Paulinus report of St. Ambrose to St. Austin himself, that he did only receive the body : and the first shall be that of Valentine of Pavia, in the fifth century,† "who before his death took with his own hands the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." The second, that of Elpidius, as it is in the next century reported by Gregory the Great,‡ "That calling his brethren, and standing in the midst of them, he took the body and blood of the Lord, and continuing in prayer gave up the ghost :" and he mentions this no less than of three others in the same Dialogues, and in his office for visiting the infirm, after prayers and other things, then says he,§ "Let the priest communicate him with the body and blood of Christ." In the same age the writer of St. Vedastus's life says,|| "He died, being confirmed with the most sacred viaticum of the body and blood of Christ." And the same also of Ritharius, very near in the same words. Isidore, the famous bishop of Seville, "received with a profound sigh the body and blood of the Lord," and died presently after:¶ and to go down no lower than the next age, Bede then reports of Ceadda, a British bishop, that "he fortified his departure with the perception of the body and blood of our Lord seven days before :"** and the same of

* Quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, corpus et sanguinem Christi ille, qui ægrotat, accipiat. Sermo. 215. de Tempore. [Ep. 265. vol. 5. Append. p. 437. Par. 1683.]

† Ante obitum propriis manibus accepit corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum. Surius August. 4. [vol. 4. p. 509. Colon. Agr. 1579.]

‡ Ἀδελφοὺς προσκαλεσάμενος, καὶ σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος μετέλαβε,—αὐτὸς τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπιμείνας τὴν ψυχὴν παρέδωκε. Gregorii Dialog. 616. βιβ. τεταρτ. κεφ. ιά. [vol. 2. p. 387. Par. 1705.]

§ Deinde communicet eum corpore et sanguine Domini. Gregor. Sacram. Visit. infirm. [Ibid. vol. 3. par. 1. p. 237.]

|| Sacrosancto corporis et sanguinis Domini viatico confirmatus obiit. Alcuin. in vit. Vedast. [tom. 2. vol. 1. p. 270. ed. 1777.]

¶ Corpus et sanguinem Domini cum profundo gemitu suscepit. Redemptus de obit. Isidor.

** Obitum suum Dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione septimo ante mortem die munivit. Bed. Hist. Angl. l. 4.

St. Cuthbert, “who received from him the most wholesome sacraments of Christ’s body and blood.”* And thus did that glorious prince Charles the Great, make his pious exit, “commanding his most familiar priest Hiltibald, to come unto him and give him the sacraments of the Lord’s body and blood.”† And the same universal custom and practice I might bring down to all those other ages that succeed, till a new doctrine of the sacrament brought in a new practice by degrees; but I cannot omit one in the eleventh age, though it has a legendary miracle joined with it; it is an account Damianus ‡ gives of a priest, “who had carried the eucharist to a sick person, and by negligence brought back, and left in the cup a little of the blood of the Lord:” so that it is plain, notwithstanding the fear either of keeping or spilling, they carried the wine with them to the sick as well as the bread, and communicated them both: and now if we add to these the decree of Pope Paschal II. forbidding to mix the sacramental elements, but to give them separately and distinctly, unless to young children and to the sick (which exception makes it unquestionable, that both were then given to the sick), and the fore-mentioned canon of the Council of Tours, which is in Burchard, Ivo, and Regino, commanding the bread to be dipt in the wine, that the priest may truly say to the sick, ‘the body and blood of Christ be profitable to thee;’ these being all laid together, make it clear beyond all contradiction, that the communion of the sick was not, as de Meaux pretends, in one kind, but in both; and as a parting blow upon this point, I shall only offer that observation of their own learned Menardus,§ from an ancient Mass, in his notes upon the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, that in

* Acceptis a me sacramentis salutaribus Dominici corporis et sanguinis, Id. in vit. Cuthberti.

† Jussit familiarissimum Pontificem suum Hiltibaldum venire ad se, ut ei sacramenta Dominici corporis et sanguinis tribueret. Eginhard. vit. Caroli Mag.

‡ Presbyterum quendam Cumane Ecclesiæ Eucharistiam detulisse ægroto, illum mox cum in Ecclesiam rediens aliquantulum Dominici sanguinis comperisset, remansisse in calice.—Petri Damian. Opusc.

§ Cum communicat infirmus quem vis morbi non ad tantam virium imbecillitatem adduxit, dicitur utraque forma, corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam æternam, sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi redimat te in vitam æternam, quæ distinctam sumptionem indicant; at dum communicat infirmus qui ingratvari coepit, unica tantum formula recitatur in hunc modum, corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Menard. notæ in Greg. Sacram. p. 379, 380. [Par. 1642.]

case the sick person was in a condition to receive the elements separately, then this form was used, “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to eternal life ; the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thee to eternal life ; which,” says he, “shews a distinct sumption :” if he was in such weakness and extremity as to have them given mixed, then it was said, “The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul to eternal life :” which as well shews a sumption of both the elements, though in a different manner, according to the different state of the sick person.

The communion of infants* is the next custom alleged by this author ; it was a very ancient, and almost universal practice of the Church, to give the eucharist to little children as soon as they were baptized, thinking it to be as necessary to their salvation as baptism, and that they were as capable of the one as the other ; and therefore the Council of Trent, which has condemned all those who say the eucharist is necessary for infants, has herein determined against the general sense and practice of the Church, and put no less men than St. Austin, and Innocent, a pope of their own, notwithstanding his infallibility, who were notoriously of this opinion, under an anathema ; which how they can reconcile with their own principles of following tradition, and of the Church’s infallibility in all ages, I shall leave to them to consider and make out if they can : but as to our present question, when the communion was thus given to infants, I utterly deny that it was only in one kind ; I cannot indeed produce so many proofs that it was in both, as in the sick, because there was not so much occasion in any history to make mention of the one as the other ; but that which was the very ground and foundation of this practice of communicating infants, and the reason why they thought it necessary to their salvation, namely, those words of our Saviour, John vi. 53, “ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you : ” these do suppose an equal necessity to drink the blood as to eat the flesh, and to do both as well as one : and hence, St. Austin, who denies, as he says all catholics do with him, “ that infants can have life without partaking of the eucharist,” expresses it in such words as suppose plainly their partaking of both kinds, viz.† “ their distinct eating the

* Communion of Infants.

† Parvulos sine cibo carnis Christi et sanguinis potu vitam non habitueros—sine participatione corporis et sanguinis Domini Ep. 106. [Ep. 186. vol. 2. p. 673. Par. 1679.]

flesh and drinking the blood of Christ ;” as other authors also do, who mention this very thing in relation to infants;* and Pope Paschal II., who in the eleventh century allows the mixing the two species for infants, by this means appoints them to take both, and supposes it an original custom to do so; and if we had nothing else, yet the remaining custom in the Greek and Eastern, and in all Churches that still continue the communion of infants, to communicate them in both kinds, is as full an evidence of this as can be expected : and de Meaux has not been able to offer any one example to the contrary, but that poor one out of St. Cyprian, which if it proves any thing, it proves that the whole Christian assembly received only the cup in their public and solemn meetings, as well as the infant he mentions ; which he is not so hardy as to venture to say, nor dare any one that understands any thing of St. Cyprian’s time ; but the story he would improve to his purpose is this :† a child who had been carried by its nurse to an idol temple, and had there tasted of a little bread and wine that was sacrificed ; this was afterwards brought by its mother, who knew nothing of this matter, to the Christian assembly, and there it discovered the strange misfortune which had befallen to it ; “for all the time of the prayers it was in great trouble and uneasiness, it cried and tossed, and was impatient, as if it had been in a fit and an agony, and seemed to confess that by its actions, which it could not by words ; thus it continued whilst the solemn offices were performed ; and towards the end of them, when the deacon bringing the cup about to all the rest, at last came to that, it turned away its face and kept its lips close, and would not receive it, but the deacon poured in a little into its mouth against its will, which it quickly brought up again, not being able to retain what was so holy and sacred in its impure and polluted stomach :” this was a miraculous and extraordinary warning to others, not to partake with any part of the idol-worship or offerings, which they were at that time greatly tempted to ; and for this purpose St. Cyprian relates the thing of his own knowledge, he being an eye-witness of it : but Monsieur de Meaux would have this serve to shew, that the child had the cup only given to it, there being no mention of

* Non cibatis carne neque potatis sanguine Christi. Hypogn. l. 5. Corporis Dominici edulio ac sanguinis haustu satiatos. Liber Car. magni de Imag. c. 27.

† Cyprian. de Lapsis. p. 133. edit. Oxon. [1682.]

the bread, and therefore that it received but in one kind, and consequently, that it was the custom for infants to receive but in one kind in St. Cyprian's time; if so, then it was the custom also for all Christians in their religious assemblies to receive only in one kind; for St. Cyprian mentions nothing at all of the bread in this place given to the rest, any more than to the child; and if de Meaux, or any one that pretends to any thing of learning, will assert this, that in St. Cyprian's time Christians in the public communion received but one species, and that this species was that of wine; I will willingly give them this instance of the child, and take them up upon the other, where I am sure I have all the learned men that ever read St. Cyprian, or understand any thing of antiquity, on my side. But why does not St. Cyprian mention any thing of the bread, if that were then given to the child or others? Because he had no reason to do it in this short relation, which was not to give an account of all that was then done by the Christians in their religious offices, but only of this accident which happened to the child at that time, it being his business in that discourse, to deter men from joining in the Pagan idolatry, from the terrible judgments of God upon several who had done this; and after this remarkable instance of the child, he relates another of a man who had received the bread in the sacrament* (so that they received that, it seems, as well as the wine), which was as miraculously turned into ashes. But why was not the child as much disturbed at the receiving the bread, if that was given it, as at the receiving the wine? Why so it was, during the whole time of being there at prayers, and at the whole solemnity it was under the same trouble, agitation, and discomposure, but most remarkably at the end and conclusion of all, when it had taken the whole sacrament.

If the other Christians received the other part of the sacrament, though it be not mentioned, so might this child; and as, I think, none will from hence attempt to shew that all Christians were then deprived of the bread, so it is plain, they all had the cup; and that children as well as the adult, did then partake of both, appears from the same treatise of St. Cyprian *de Lapsis*, where he represents the children who were thus carried to partake of the idol offerings, as blaming their

* Sacrificio a sacerdote celebrato, partem cum cæteris ausus est latenter accipere, sanctum Domini edere et contrectare non potuit, cinerem ferre se apertis manibus invenit. Cyp. Ib. de Laps.

parents for it, and making this vindication for themselves,* “We have not left the meat nor the cup of the Lord, nor gone of ourselves to the profane banquets, but another’s perfidiousness has destroyed us.” So that they were then to partake, not only of the cup, but of the meat of the Lord.

Monsieur de Meaux was in a great strait sure for some other instances of the communion of children in one kind, when he brings in† the school-boys at Constantinople, who according to Evagrius,‡ had the remainders of the bread that was left at the communion given to them; which custom he finds also in a French Council;§ were these boys true communicants for all that? Were not the elements given them, as they were sometimes to the poor, who were not present at the office, merely that they might consume them, that so they might not be undecently kept or carried away? As for the same reason it was the custom to burn them in the Church of Jerusalem,|| and as it is now with us in the Church of England, for the communicants to eat them before they go out of the church: if we should have some remainders of consecrated bread, which we might call the particles of Christ’s body, as Evagrius there does, would the eating of them be an argument that we had a custom to communicate in one kind; and yet Monsieur de Meaux’s wit and eloquence must be laid out on such ridiculous things as these, to shew what¶ “customs there remain in history in testimony against the Protestants, and how the communion of some infants under the sole species of wine, and some under that of bread, is a clear conviction of their error.” It would be to little other purpose, but to tire myself and my reader, to follow that great man through all his little arguments and authorities of this nature, and especially into the dark and blind paths of later ages, when superstition and ignorance lead men out of the way, both of Scripture and antiquity, which are the good old paths that we are resolved to walk in. His French answerers, I hear, have pursued him through all these, and driven him out of every private skulking-hole he would make to himself: I am rather for meeting him in the open field, and for engaging his main

* Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto cibo et poculo Domini ad profana contagia sponte properavimus—Perdidit nos aliena perfidia. Cyp. de Laps.

† P. 91, 92, 94.

‡ Hist. l. 4.

§ Mascon.

|| Hesych. in Levit. l. 2. c. 8.

¶ P. 94.

strength, and most considerable arguments and objections ; and I seriously profess, though I never met with any book written so shrewdly and cunningly, with so much art and eloquence, upon a subject that I thought could hardly bear it, though it stood in need of it above any other ; yet there is not any thing of strength in it that I have not fairly considered, and I hope, fully answered.

The third custom is the Domestic Communion,* when after the Christians had received the sacrament in their public meetings, they carried it also home with them to receive it alone in their private houses ; this must be allowed also to be very ancient, being mentioned both by Tertullian† and St. Cyprian ;‡ and the reason of it was that in those times of persecution, when they could not come so frequently to the public communions, and yet stood in need of the greatest aids and supports, they might not want the benefit and comfort of what was so precious to them ; but though there might be great zeal and piety in this practice, yet I cannot wholly excuse it from superstition, nor think it to be anything less than an abuse of the sacrament, and the same opinion the Church quickly had of it, and therefore universally forbade it ;§ and as Petavius says,|| “ It would be now a very punishable action, and accounted a great profanation of the sacrament.” However angry Monsieur de Meaux is with the Protestants for calling it so,¶ undoubtedly the eucharist was not intended by our Saviour for any such private use, but to be a public part of Christian worship, and a solemn commemoration of his death and passion : and I know not how to call this a true or perfect communion, unless as it was a part of the same communion that was in the Church ; as the sending a person part of the entertainment at a common feast or banquet, is a making him partaker of the same feast, though he be not present at the table, but eats it by himself ; however, let it be allowed to be never so true a communion, yet I know no advantage that can be made of it to the purpose of communion in one kind, unless it can be made appear, that after

* Of Domestic Communion.

† Accepto corpore Domini et Reservato. De Orat. cap. ult. Nesciat maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes. Ad Uxor. l. 2. [p. 169. Par. 1695.]

‡ Cum quædam arcum suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit. De Laps. [ut supra, p. 132.]

§ Concil. Cæsar Augustan.

|| De Poenit. publ. l. 1. c. 7.

¶ P. 105.

the faithful had communicated of both kinds in the Church, they only reserved and carried home one species to be received in their private houses : how improbable is this, if it be granted that they received both in public, which is not denied ; why should not they be as desirous to partake of both at home, as they were in the Church ? "Upon what account," as de Meaux says,* "should they refuse them both ? And believe that the sacred body with which they trusted them, was more precious than the blood ?" He is forced to own, "that the blood was not refused to the faithful to carry with them, when they required it."† And why they should not desire that as well as the other, I cannot imagine ; the only argument he has against it, is, that "they could not keep it any long time :" but could not they keep it so long as till the next public communion ? Could they not conserve the wine in little vessels to that purpose, as well as the bread ? Does Nature itself, as he pretends, more oppose the one than the other ? When we find by experience that wine will keep much longer without corruption than bread ; what a vain cavil is it therefore, which begins and runs through his whole book, to make us believe, that "the Christians so often communicated under the species of bread alone, because the species of wine could not be either so long or so easily reserved, being too subject to alteration ; and Jesus Christ would not that anything should appear to the sense in this mystery of faith, contrary to the ordinary course of nature."‡ But it is matter of fact we have now to do with, and that must be made out, not by slight surmises, but by good testimony : and whether the Christians, when this custom of domestic communion was in use among them, did not reserve and carry home both kinds, the wine as well as the bread, let us now examine. Monsieur de Meaux has not one authority that proves anything more, than that they used to preserve the sacrament or body of Christ, which by a synecdoche is a common phrase in ecclesiastical writers for the whole eucharist, and is used by Tertullian and St. Cyprian, where the two species were unquestionably used, as in the public communion ; St. Basil, who speaks of the communion of hermits, and who is produced as an evidence by de Meaux, that they communicated in the deserts, advises them expressly "to partake of the body and of the blood of Christ,"§ and

* P. 114.

† P. 113.

‡ P. 9.

§ Τὸ κοινωνεῖν καθ' ὑμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καλὸν καὶ ἐπωφελές. Basil. Ep. 280.

when those solitaries had the communion brought to them, that it was in both kinds, appears from their own Cardinal Bona,* in the relation of Zosimus, an abbot of a monastery, “ his carrying in a vessel a portion of the sacred body and blood of Christ, to one Mary of Egypt, who had lived forty-seven [in Bona LVII.] years in the wilderness.” That those who communicated at home had both kinds sent to them, appears evidently from Justin Martyr,† and de Meaux owns from him, “ that the two species it is true, were carried ;‡ but this,” says he, “ was presently after they had been consecrated.” Not till the public communion was over, and then also the faithful carried away what they reserved ; “ but it does not appear that they kept them ;” nor does it appear to the contrary, but they might have kept them if they had pleased.

He who wrote the life of St. Basil, by the name of Amphilochius, reports the story of a Jew, who being got secretly among the Christians at the time of communion, communicated with them, and took the sacrament first of the body, and then of the blood ; and then took and carried away with him§ some part of each of the elements, and shewed them to his wife to confirm the truth of what he had done. Monsieur de Meaux has made no objection to the credit of this writer ; and no doubt, had it not been usual for Christians to carry away both the elements, the writer of that life, let him be who he will, had not told so improbable a story.

Gregory Nazianzen|| relates of his sister Gorgonia, that “ what her hands had treasured up of the anti-types of the precious body or blood of Christ, that she mingled with her tears, and anointed herself withal.” So that it seems her hands treasured up both the species or anti-types, as he calls them ; and it is a mighty subtlety to say, she did not treasure them up both together, when she certainly treasured up both.

But if we had no such instances as these, there are two such unanswerable authorities against de Meaux’s opinion, that the faithful carried home only the bread, and communicated but in one kind, as are enough to make him give up this part of the cause ; and those are the famous Albaspinæus, bishop of

* Rerum Liturg. l. 2. c. 18. [p. 324. col. 2. Venet. 1764.]

† Apolog. 2. [Apolog. 1.] [p. 83. Par. 1742.] ‡ P. 112.

§ Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκατέρων φυλάξας λείψανα, ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπέδειξε τῷ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ πρὸς βεβαίωσιν τῶν λεγόντων. Amphiloch. vit. Basil. c. 7. [p. 178. Par. 1644.]

|| Orat. 11. [vol. 1. p. 187. Par. 1630.]

Orleans, and Cardinal Baronius, two men whose skill in antiquity is enough to weigh down whatever can be said by de Meaux, or any other, and whose words will go farther in the Church of Rome than most men's ; and they are both positive, that not only the bread, but that the wine also was reserved and carried home by Christians in their domestic communions. "Upon what account can they prove," says Albaspinæus,* "that it was lawful for laics to carry home the eucharist under the species of bread, and not under the species of wine?" "Consider," says Baronius† to his reader, "how the heretics of our time differ from the tradition of the Fathers, and the custom of the catholic Church, who deny that the eucharist is to be reserved, when we see it used to be kept, not only in the species of bread, but in the species of wine." And that he meant this of private reservation as well as in the church, he goes on further to prove this keeping of both species by the authority of Gregory the Great, who gives an account in his Dialogues of one Maximianus a monk, and others his companions, who being in a great storm and tempest at sea, and in great danger of their lives, they took the sacrament which they had carried with them, and in both kinds "received the body and blood of their Redeemer."‡ But to this says Monsieur de Meaux, "To shew the faithful had kept the two species in their vessel from Rome to Constantinople, it ought before to have been certain that there was no priest in this vessel, or that Maximian, of whom St. Gregory speaks in this place, was none, though he was the superior of a monastery." But Gregory speaks not a word of any priest being there, and Maximian might be no priest, though he were superior of a monastery, for they and the monks were often no priests : but if a priest had been there, it had been unlawful for him, according to the principles of the Roman Church, to have consecrated the eucharist in such a tempest, in an unconsecrated

* Sed quo tandem probare poterunt, Laicis Eucharistiam sub specie panis domum portare licuisse, sub vini non licuisse? Albaspin. Observat. 4. l. 1. [p. 24. Lut. Par. 1623.]

† Hic lector considera quam procul abhorreant a Patrum traditione usque Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, qui nostro tempore hæretici negant, asservandam esse sacratissimam Eucharistiam, quam videmus non sub specie panis tantum, sed sub specie vini olim consueuisse recondi. Baron. Annal. an. 404. n. 32. [vol. 6. p. 404. col. 12. Luc. 1740.]

‡ Τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ ἡμῶν θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεταλάβοντες. Greg. Dialog. Græce, l. 3. c. 36. [vol. 2. p. 358. Par. 1705.]

place, and at sea ; where, according to Cassander,* they are not permitted to use consecration, nor to have the full mass, but only what he calls the *Missa sicca*, and the *Missa navalis* : and it is plain Baronius, with whose authority I am now urging de Meaux, is of the mind that the faithful did carry the two species in their vessel, for he says so expressly in so many words.† There is no getting off the plain and evident authority of these two great men for receiving the eucharist in both kinds ; Monsieur de Meaux, though he heaves a little, yet cannot but sink under it, and it makes him confess, “that these passages may very well prove that the blood was not refused to the faithful to carry with them, if they required it, but can never prove that they could keep it any long time, since that nature itself opposes it.” So that if Nature be not against keeping the wine, custom and authority it seems are for it ; and I dare say, that Nature will suffer the wine to be kept as long as the bread ; however, they who are such friends to miracles, and have them so ready at every turn, especially in the sacrament, have no reason methinks to be so afraid of Nature.

Monsieur de Meaux passes next to the public communion in the church ;‡ and if he can prove that to have been in one kind, he has gained his main point, however unsuccessfully he has come off with the rest ; though we see all his other pretences are too weak to be defended, and we have destroyed, I think, all his outworks, yet if he can but maintain this great fort, he saves the capital, and preserves the Romish cause : he has used, I confess, all imaginable stratagems to do it, and has endeavoured to make up his want of strength, with subtlety and intrigue. He will not pretend it was a constant custom to have the public communion in one kind, but “that it was free for Christians to receive either both species, or one only, in the Church itself, and in their solemn assemblies ;” and that they did this on some particular days and occasions, as in the Latin Church on Good-Friday, and almost all Lent

* Liturgic. c. 34. [p. 84. Par. 1616.] Hæc Missa sicca, i. e. sine consecratione et communicatione, etiam navalis seu nautica dicitur, eo quod in loco fluctuante et vacillante, ut in mari et fluminibus, quibus in locis plenam missam celebrandam non putant. In libello ordinis missæ secundum usum Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

† In navi portasse navigantes Christi corpus et sanguinem. Baron. Annal. an. 404. n. 32. [ut supra, col. 2.]

‡ Of Public Communion in the Church.

in the Greek. Now though we have made it out, that the whole catholic Church did generally in their public communions use both kinds, yet if they left it free to Christians to receive one or both as they pleased, or to receive sometimes both, and sometimes one, this, if it can be proved, will shew that they thought communion in one might be lawful and sufficient, and that it was not necessary to be in both: let us therefore see what evidence there is for any such thing, for it looks very strangely, that the Church in all its liturgies, in all the accounts of celebrating the communion, should always use both kinds to all that partook of the sacrament, and yet leave it free to Christians to receive it in one if they pleased, and that on some few days they should give the same sacrament in a quite different manner than they used at all other times; this, if it be true, must be very odd and unaccountable, and unless there be very full and evident proof of it, we may certainly conclude it to be false: what cloud of witnesses then does de Meaux bring to justify this, what names of credit and authority does he produce for it? Why, not one, not so much as a single testimony against the universal suffrage of the whole Church, and of the most learned of our adversaries, who all agree in this truth, that the public communion was in both kinds for above a thousand years; is there any one writer in all the ten, nay twelve centuries, who plainly contradicts it? Any one between the Apostles and Thomas Aquinas, who says it was the custom of the catholic Church, or any part of it, to communicate only in one kind? Nay, can de Meaux shew any particular persons, or any sort of Christians that ever were in the world before the thirteenth age, that were against both kinds, and received only in one, except the Manichees, a sort of vile and abominable heretics, who are the only instances in antiquity for communion in one kind: these men believing Christ not to have really shed his blood, but only in phantasm and appearance, would not take the sacrament of his blood, and by the same reason neither should they have taken that of his body; and thinking wine not to be the creature of God, the Father of Christ, but of the devil, or some evil principle or bad spirit, and so calling it the "gall of the dragon;" they had a general abhorrence from it, and so would not receive it in the sacrament. Pope Leo heard that several of these were at Rome, and that to cover their infidelity, and skulk more securely, "they came to the public assemblies, and were present at the very sacrament; but yet they did so order themselves at the communion,

that so they might the more safely hide themselves, and be undiscovered : they take with their unworthy mouth the body of Christ, but they refused to drink his blood ; this he gave notice of to his Roman congregation, that so these men might be made manifest to them by these marks and tokens, that their sacrilegious dissimulation being apprehended, they might be marked and discovered, and so expelled or excommunicated from the society of the faithful, by the priestly authority.”* Now how can all this, which shews plainly, that the communion at Rome was in both kinds, be turned to the advantage of communion in one? This requires the slight and the dexterity of Monsieur de Meaux, and it is one of the most artificial fetches that ever were; it is the only argument which he has to prove that the public communion was not in both kinds : this remark upon the words of Pope Leo, and upon the decree of Gelasius, which is much of the like nature ; “This fraudulent design,” says he, “of the Manichees, could hardly be discovered, because Catholics themselves did not all of them communicate under both species.” But how knows he that? That is the question that is not to be begged, but proved ; and it is a strange way of proving it by no other medium but only supposing it, and that very groundlessly and unreasonably : is this poor weak supposition to bear the weight of that bold assertion which contradicts all manner of evidence and authority, that the public communion in the Church was in one kind? If it had been so, and Catholics had not all of them communicated under both species, the Manichees would not have been discovered at all, for they would have done the same the Catholics did, and to all outward appearance been as good Catholics as they ; they might have kept their opinion and heresy to themselves, and that it seems they intended to dissemble and keep private ; but as to their practice it would have been but the same with others, and so they could not have been found out or discovered by that. “But it was taken notice of at the last,” says de Meaux, “that

* Cum ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in Sacramentorum Communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt, sanguinem autem redēptionis nostrae haurire omnino declinant. Quod ideo vestram volumus scire sanctitatem, ut vobis hujusmodi homines et his manifestentur indiciis, et quorum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et proditi, a sanctorum societate sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur. Leo, Sermo 4. de Quadrag. [vol. 1. p. 161. Venet. 1753.]

these heretics did it out of affectation, insomuch that the holy Pope, St. Leo the Great, would that those who were known as such by this mark, should be expelled the Church." How does it appear that their affectation was taken notice of? or that they did it out of that? Does Pope Leo say any thing of this? But only points at their practice without so much as intimating their reason; was their affectation the mark by which the Pope would have them known? As de Meaux slightly, but not honestly, makes him speak, by putting those words of his, as relating to his own that went before, whereas in Leo they relate not to the doing it out of affectation, for he speaks not a word of that, but merely to the not drinking the blood; this was the only mark by which they were known as such; by these *indicia*, these marks and tokens of not drinking the blood, they were to be known and discovered, and made manifest, according to the words of St. Leo, by their visible practice, not by their opinion or their affectation; and for this they were to be expelled the society of Christians, because they refused to drink the blood of our redemption, without regard to their private or particular reasons, which St. Leo takes no notice of: these cunning and dissembling heretics, to cover their dissimulation and infidelity, and hide themselves the better, which was, it seems, their main end and design, might take the cup, but yet not drink of it, nor taste the least drop of wine; and "for this cause there must have been time and a particular vigilance to discern these heretics from amongst the faithful," and not "because there was a general liberty to receive one or both species," as de Meaux pretends. That liberty is a very strange thing which has no manner of evidence for it, which Pope Leo says nothing of, but the quite contrary, namely, that the body and blood were both received in the communion; and which if it had been allowed, as it would have bred infinite confusion in the Church, so the Manichees might have made use of it to their wicked purpose, of receiving only in one kind. The continuance of this fraud and dissimulation, either in the Manichees, or some other heretics and superstitious Christians, for it does not appear who they were, caused a necessity at last in the time of Pope Gelasius, to make an express order and decree against the sacrilegious dividing of the sacrament, and the taking of one species without the other. And let us now come to consider that, as it is in Gratian's decree: "We find," says he, "that some taking only a portion of the body, abstain from the cup of the holy blood, which

persons (because they seem to adhere to I know not what superstition), let them either take the sacraments entirely, or else be wholly kept from them, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot be without great sacrilege.”* Can any thing be more plain or more full than this against mangling and dividing the blessed sacrament, and against taking it in one kind? Is it possible to put by such a home-thrust against it as this is? And will it not require great art to turn this into an argument for communion in one kind, which is so directly against it? Surely the substance of words and arguments must be annihilated and transubstantiated into quite another thing, before this can be done. Let us see another trial of Monsieur de Meaux’s skill: “Gelasius,” says he, “was obliged to forbid expressly to communicate any other ways than under both species: a sign that the thing was free before, and that they would not have thought of making this ordinance, but to take from the Manicheans the means of deceiving.” Was it then free till the time of Pope Gelasius, to receive either in one or both kinds? Does any such thing appear in the whole Christian Church? Or is there any instance of any one public communion without both kinds? Is a decree of a Church-governor upon a particular occasion, against particular heretics and superstitious persons new risen up, and pursuant to a general law of Christianity, and the custom of the whole Church; is that a sign the thing was free before? Then it was free for Christians not to come to the sacrament at all, before such and such Councils and bishops commanded them to come at such times: then it was free for the priests who ministered, to receive but in one kind, before this decree of Gelasius; for it is to those it is referred in Gratian, where the title of it is, “The priest ought not to receive the body of Christ, without the blood.”† Though there is no mention of the priest in the decree, neither was there in the title in the ancient MSS. copies, as Cassander assures us;‡ and it seems plainly to concern neither the priest nor the faithful, who by

* Comperimus autem quod quidam, sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacrati cruxis abstineant, qui proculdubio (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur astringi) aut integra sacramenta percipient, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. Gratian. decret. 3. pars dist. 2. [vol. 1. p. 1918. Lugd. 1671.]

† Corpus Christi sine ejus sanguine sacerdos non debet accipere. Ib.

‡ Ep. 19. [p. 1106. Par. 1616.]

a constant and universal custom received in both kinds, but only those superstitious persons who were then at Rome, and, for I know not what reason, refused the cup ; and though there was a particular reason to make this decree against them, yet there needed no reason to make a decree for the faithful, who always communicated in both kinds, and it is plain from hence, did so in the time of Gelasius.

The motive inducing this Pope to make this decree was, because he found that some did not receive the blood as well as the body ; and the reason why they did not, was some either Manichean or other superstition ; so that this decree, I own, was occasioned by them, and particularly relates to them, and shews that they herein differed from the faithful, not only in their superstition, but in the practice too ; but to say that he forbade this practice only in respect of such a superstition going along with it, and that he did not forbid the practice itself, which was the effect of it, is so notoriously false, that the decree relates wholly to the practice, and as to the superstition it does not inform us what it was, or wherein it consisted ; no doubt it must be some superstition or other, that hinders any from taking the cup, the superstitious fear of spilling Christ's blood, or the superstitious belief that one species contains both the body and blood together, and so conveys the whole virtue of both ; which is truly superstition, as having no foundation in Scripture, or in the institution of Christ, which gives the sacrament its whole virtue, and annexes it not to one but to both species. And whatever the superstition be, Gelasius declares it is sacrilege to divide the mystery, or to take one species without the other ; the reason which he gives against taking one kind, is general and absolute, because the mystery cannot be divided without sacrilege ; so that however our adversaries may assoil themselves from the superstition in Gelasius, they can never get off from the sacrilege. How wide these conjectures from Pope Leo and Gelasius are from the mark, which de Meaux aims at, I shall let him see from one of his own communion, whose knowledge and judgment in antiquity was no way inferior to his own, and his honesty much greater ; who thus sums up that matter against one that would have strained and perverted it to the same use that de Meaux does : "The conjecture," says he, "which he makes from the sermon of Pope Leo, and the decrees of Gelasius, does wholly evince the contrary to what he pretends ; for from them it manifestly appears, that in the time of these two Popes,

the communion was only used in both kinds ; for how should the Manichees be known by this mark, that when they came to the churches, they abstained from the blood of our redemption, after they had with others, taken the body of the Lord ; unless the cup of the Lord had been distributed ? And how should they be convicted of superstition, who took a portion of the Lord's body, and abstained from the cup, unless the cup of his sacred blood had been offered to all in the Church ? These holy Popes did not therefore, as some imagine, appoint the use of both species by a new decree, but those who neglected this solemn and received custom of taking the cup, one of these Popes would have them avoided and marked as those who were akin to the Manichean heresy ; the other would have them compelled to the accustomed perception of the entire sacrament, or else to be wholly kept from all communion, for there was need of no new decree for the Catholics who did religiously observe the received custom of taking the sacrament entirely, that is, in both kinds.”*

There needs much better arguments to prove the public communion of the Church to have been ever in one kind, than such improbable guesses and forced conjectures, whereby plain and full evidences are racked and tortured to get that out of them, which is contrary to their whole testimony, sense and meaning. Let us inquire then, whether any particular instances can be given as matters of fact, which will make it appear, that the Church ever used only one kind in its public communions ; this de Meaux attempts to shew in the last place, and as the strongest evidence he can rally up for his otherwise vanquished cause ; he brings both the Latin and Greek Church

* Conjectura vero quam adfert ex Leonis Sermone et Gelasii decreto prorsus contrarium evincit ; nam ex iis manifeste constat, horum Pontificum temporibus communionem non nisi in utraque specie in Ecclesia usitatam fuisse ; Quomodo enim Manichæi hac nota deprehenderentur, quod ingredientes Ecclesiam, percepto cum reliquis corpore Domini, a sanguine Redemptionis abstinerent, nisi calix Dominici sanguinis distributus fuisset ; et quomodo superstitionis convincerentur, qui sumpta Dominicis corporis portione, a calice sacrati cruxis abstinerent, nisi calix ille sacrati cruxis omnibus in Ecclesia fuisset oblatus ? Non igitur, ut quidam existimant, novo decreto utriusque speciei usum hi sanctissimi Pontifices edixerunt, sed eos qui solennem hunc et receptum calicis sumendi morem neglexerunt, ille ut hæresis Manichææ affines notandos et evitandos, hic ad usitatam integri sacramenti perceptionem compellendos, aut ab omni prorsus communione arcendos censuit. Nam Catholicis novo decreto non opus erat, qui receptam integra sacramenta percipiendi consuetudinem religiose servabant. Cassand. de Com. sub utraque. [Ibid.] p. 1026.

to his assistance, though the latter, he owns, appears not for the most part very favourable to communion under one species, but yet this manner of communicating is practised however, and consecrated too by the tradition of both Churches : if it be but practised in both Churches, this will go a great way to make it a practice of the catholic Church ; though neither of those Churches singly, nor both of them together, do make the catholic ; but let us see how this is practised in those two great, though particular Churches. “Why, in the office of Good-Friday in the Latin Church, and the office of the Greek Church every day in Lent, except Saturday and Sunday ;” at those times it seems, these two Churches have the communion only in one kind, as appears by their public offices : if they have it so at those times, at other times then, I suppose, they have it in both, or else how come those particular times, and those particular offices, to be singled out and remarked as distinct and different from all the rest ? Then generally and for the most part the public communion is to be in both kinds, according to the tradition of both those Churches ; and then surely this tradition which is thus consecrated by both the Churches, is violated by the Roman :* but the priest himself who officiates, takes but in one kind, in the *Missa Parasceues*, as they call it, or the mass on Good-Friday, as appears by the office : this custom then will shew that the priest himself, or the *minister conficiens*, may receive only in one kind in the public communion, as well as the people, which I think they ordinarily think unlawful, and call it sacrilege if he should ordinarily do so ; and if I remember, Bellarmine himself says, “the sumption of both species is necessary for the priest who officiates, as it is a sacrament as well as a sacrifice ; for since the sacrament was instituted under both kinds, it is necessary that both kinds be taken by somebody, to make it a sacrament.”† This communion then of the priest in one kind, must be no sacrament, and the *Missa Parasceues* must be a very imperfect one, and I think themselves are pleased so to call it ; “it must be but equivocally called a mass,” as Cardinal de Bona phrases it ;‡ and consequently such an unusual, and ex-

* Of the Mass on Good Friday in the Roman Church.

† Sacerdotibus utriusque speciei sumptio necessaria est ex parte sacramenti ; nam quia sacramentum sub duplici specie institutum est, utraque species necessario ab aliquibus sumenda est. Bellarm. de Euchar. c. 4. [l. 4.] c. 23.

‡ Missam illam non nisi aequivoce ita dici. Bona rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 15. [p. 208. col. 2. Venet. 1764.]

traordinary and imperfect communion as this, will be no good precedent, nor an instance of any weight and authority to justify the practice of public communion in one kind: but after all, perhaps there may be a great mistake, and this mass on Good-Friday, though it be very different from all others, yet may not be a communion in one kind, but in both; and so may that in the Greek Church, in the Liturgy of the Presanctified, which is used on most days in Lent; and then we may relieve the Church of Rome from the difficulty of the priests' communicating but in one kind, and vindicate both the Churches in great measure, from being guilty of such an irregular practice, contrary to the general practice of the whole Church, and to the institution of Christ. This cannot to this day be laid to the Greek Church, which never uses the communion in one kind, neither privately or publicly; nor could it be charged upon the Roman till long after this particular mass on Good-Friday was used in it, which it is plain it was in the eleventh age, from the *Ordo Romanus*, *Amalarius*, *Alcuinus*, *Rupertus Tuitiensis*, and others; but there is no manner of proof that the public communion in one kind was brought into the Church of Rome till the thirteenth century, when it came by degrees into some particular Churches, as *Thomas Aquinas* informs us, and was afterwards established by a general decree in the Council of Constance: the mass therefore on Good-Friday, though it was a singular and different office from all others, they not thinking it fit, for I know not what reasons, to make a formal consecration of Christ's body on the same day he died, but to celebrate the communion with what was thus consecrated the day before, yet it was not wholly in the one species of bread, but in that of wine too, as is plain from the office itself, and from those authors who have wrote upon it:—* “The bread which was consecrated the day before, was brought by the sub-deacon, and a chalice of unconsecrated wine by another sub-deacon; and the priest sets them both together upon the altar; then after some prayers, and particularly the Lord's Prayer, he takes the consecrated bread†

* *Corpus Domini quod pridie remansit ponentes in patinam—et subdiaconus teneat calicem cum vino non consecrato, et alter subdiaconus patinam cum corpore Domini—quibus tenentibus accipit unus Presbyter prior patinam, et alter calicem, et defertur super altare nudatum. Ordo Romanus*, p. 75. ex. edit. Hittorp. [Par. 1610.]

† *Sumit de Sancta, et ponit in calicem. Sanctificatur autem vinum non consecratum per sanctificatum panem, et communicant omnes cum silentio. Ib.*

and puts it into the chalice, and so the unconsecrated wine is sanctified by the sanctified bread ; and then they all communicate with silence :" they communicated with the bread and the wine thus mixed together, and so their communion this day was not in one kind. "But this wine," says de Meaux, "was not truly consecrated, this sanctification of the unconsecrated wine, by the mixture of the body of our Lord, cannot be that true consecration by which the wine is changed into the blood :" I cannot tell whether it be such a consecration that does that in his sense, but it may be as true a sacramental consecration of the elements for all that, not only by virtue of the mixture and by way of contact, as some explain it,* but by the solemnity of the action, and by all the religious circumstances that attend it, and especially by those prayers and thanksgivings which were then used ; as in Micrologus, it is clearly and plainly expressed,† "that the wine is consecrated with the Lord's Prayer, and the immission of the Lord's body." And why will not de Meaux allow, that a true consecration may be made by those words and prayers, as well as by those formal words, "This is my body ;" when it is made out beyond all contradiction, both by Daillee and Albertinus, that the Primitive Church did not consecrate by those words, but by a prayer, and their own St. Gregory says,‡ "that the Apostles consecrated the sacrament only with the Lord's Prayer :" which was used here, and particularly observed to be so by Micrologus, as that whereby the wine was consecrated ; so that all Monsieur de Meaux's labour is vain, to shew that the consecration could not be without words ; and that it cannot enter into the mind of a man of sense, that it could ever be believed in the Church, the wine was consecrated without words, by the sole mixture of the body : the consecration might be made without those very formal words now used in the Roman Missal, as it was by prayer in the Primitive Church. Walafridus Strabo observes concerning this very office on Good-Friday, that it was agreeable to the more ancient and simple

* Aliter in Romano Ordine legitur, ut contactu Dominici corporis integra fiat communio. Cassand. de Com. sub utr. p. 1027. [Oper. Par. 1616.] Concil. Araus. primum.

† Vinum non consecratum cum Dominica corporis immissione jubet consecrare. Microlog. de Ecclesiast. Observ. c. 19. in edit. Hittorp. [ut supra,] p. 742.

‡ Apostolos sola Dominica prece præmissa consecrasse et sacramenta distribuisse. Greg. l. 7. Ep. 63. ad Syr.

way of the communion of the first Christians, which was performed only with the use of the Lord's Prayer, and some commemoration of Christ's passion,* and yet he did not question but the consecration was truly made by that simple manner; and it did so far enter into the minds of the men of sense, that were in those times, that they all did believe that the wine was truly consecrated this way; for so says expressly the *Ordo Romanus*, the ancient ceremonial, as he calls it, of that Church; "the wine is sanctified," and there is no difference between that and consecrated, that I know of; and it is plain they both mean the same thing there, for it calls the consecrated body, the sanctified body,† and I know not what sanctification of another nature that can be, which is not consecration, or sanctifying it to a holy and sacramental use. Indeed this may not so well agree with the doctrine and opinion of transubstantiation, which requires the powerful and almighty words of, "This is my body;" "this is my blood," to be pronounced over the elements, to convert them into Christ's natural flesh and blood; but it agrees as well with the true notion of the sacrament; and the Primitive Christians, no doubt, had as truly the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, though they used not those words of consecration which the Latins now do; and the Latins had them both as truly in the *Missa Parasceues*, in which, as Strabo says, they used the old simple manner of communion, as much as on any other days. De Meaux must either deny that consecration of the elements may be truly performed by that simple and ancient way, which will be to deny the Apostolic and first ages to have had any true consecration, or else he must own this to be a true one. The Roman Order says, not only the wine is consecrated, which it does in more places than one, "but that it is fully and wholly consecrated, so that the people may be confirmed by it;"‡ a phrase often used in ecclesiastical writers partaking of the cup and entire sacrament. Amalarius thinks

* Et relatio majorum est ita primis temporibus Missas fieri solitas, sicut modo in paraseue Paschæ communicationem facere solemus, i.e. præmissa Oratione Dominica, et sicut ipse Dominus noster præcepit, commemoratione passionis ejus adhibita. Walafrid. *Strabo de rebus Eccles.* c. 22. p. 680. Edit. Hittorp. [ut supra.]

† Sanctificatur vinum non consecratum per sanctificatum panem. [*Ordo Rom.* ibid. p. 75.]

‡ Ut ex eodem sacro vase confirmetur populus, quia vinum etiam non consecratum, sed sanguine Domini commixtum, sanctificatur per omnem modum. *Ord. Rom.*

this to be so true a consecration, that he says.* “ He who according to the order of that book, consecrates the wine by the commixture of the bread and wine, does not observe the tradition of the Church, of which Innocent speaks, that on these two days (Friday and Saturday before Easter) no sacraments at all should be celebrated :” so that he complains of it, because such a consecration is used on that day. The author of the Book of Divine Offices, under the name of Alcuinus,† makes a question whether there ought to be such a communion ? but says expressly, that the “ unconsecrated wine is sanctified by the sanctified bread.” Micrologus says the same, in the place produced before, that it is consecrated by prayer as well as mixture with the body ; and he gives this as a reason against intinction in that chapter,‡ that the wine is consecrated on that day, so that “ the people might fully communicate ;” to shew that it would not have been sufficient, as he thinks, to have had the bread dipped in the wine the day before, and so kept ; and I suppose, he was of de Meaux’s mind, that the wine was not so fit to be kept “ for fear of that change which might happen to it, even from one day to the next ;” but he is so far from communion in one kind, that in that very chapter against intinction, he mentions Pope Julius’s decree,§ which forbids that, and commands the bread to be given by itself, and the wine by itself, according to Christ’s institution ; and likewise the decree of Gelasius|| in these words : “ He commanded those to be excommunicated, who taking the Lord’s body abstained from the participation of the cup : and he

* Qui juxta ordinem libelli per commixtionem panis et vini consecrat vinum, non observat traditionem Ecclesiæ de qua dicit Innocentius, isto biduo sacramenta penitus non celebrari. Amalar. Fortunat. de Eccles. Offic. l. 1. c. 15. edit. Hittorp. [Ibid. p. 340.]

† De hac autem communicatione, utrum debeat fieri, supra relatum est —Sanctificatur autem vinum non consecratum per sanctificatum panem. Alcuini lib. de Off. div. p. 253. Ib.

‡ C. 19. In paraseue vinum non consecratum, cum Dominica oratione et Dominici corporis immissione jubet consecrare, ut populus plene possit communicare ; quod utique superflue præciperebat, si intinctum Dominicum a priore die corpus servaretur, et ita intinctum populo ad communicandum sufficere videretur. [Ibid. p. 742.]

§ Julius Papa hujusmodi intinctionem penitus prohibet, et seorsum panem et seorsum calicem juxta Dominicam institutionem, sumenda docet.

|| Unde et beatus Gelasius excommunicari illos præcepit, quicunque sumpto corpore Dominico, a calicis participatione se abstinerent ; nam et ipse in eodem decreto asserit, hujusmodi sacramentorum divisio sine grandi sacrilegio provenire non potest. Ib. Microlog.

asserts," says he, "in the same decree, that this division of the sacraments could not be without great sacrilege." So that this man could not be a favourer of communion in one kind, or an asserter that the Good-Friday communion was such. Whenever this communion came into the Latin Church, for it was not ancient to have any communion on those two days on which Christ died and was buried, yet it will by no means serve the purpose of de Meaux for communion in the Church in one kind; for it is plain, this communion was in both; and it was the belief of the Church, and of all those who writ upon the Roman Order, except Hugo de St. Victore, who is very late, and no older than the twelfth century, when corruptions were come to a great height, that the communion on that day was full and entire, as well with the bread which was reserved the day before, as with the wine which was truly consecrated on that, and held to be so by the opinion of them all.

The Liturgy of the Presanctified in the Greek Church,* will afford as little assistance, if not much less, to de Meaux's opinion of public communion in one kind, than the *Missa Parascueas* we see has done in the Latin; the Greeks do not think fit solemnly to consecrate the eucharist, which is a religious feast of joy, upon those days which they appoint to fasting, mortification, and sadness, and therefore during the whole time of Lent, they consecrate only upon Saturdays and Sundays, on which they do not fast, and all the other five days of the week they receive the communion in those elements which are consecrated upon those two days, which they therefore call the *προηγιασμένα*, or Presanctified. "The antiquity of this observation cannot be contested," as de Meaux says, seeing it appears, not in the sixth age, as he would have it, but in the seventh, whereas the beginning of the Latin office on Good-Friday is very uncertain, and there is no evidence for it till towards the ninth century. In a Council held under Justinian, in the hall of the imperial palace at Constantinople, called therefore in Trullo, an. 686, there is a canon which commands, that on all days of Lent, except Saturday and Sunday, and the day of the Annunciation, the communion be made of the Presanctified; there was long before a canon in the Council of Laodicea, which forbade any oblation to be made in Lent, but upon those days, *viz.*

* Of the Office of the Presanctified in the Greek Church.

the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, but that says nothing of the Presanctified, nor of any communion on the other days: but let it be as ancient as they please, although it be a peculiar office, which is neither in the Liturgy of St. Basil, nor St. Chrysostom, but is to be found by itself in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, where it is translated by Genebrardus; it is most abominably false that it was only the bread which they reserved, or which they distributed in those days to the people; for they pour some of the consecrated wine upon the consecrated bread, which they reserve on those days, and make the form of the cross with it upon the bread; as appears from the rubric in the Greek *Euchologion*:* and whatever any private men may pretend to the contrary, as Michael Cerularius, or Leo Allatius, a Latinized Greek, this can with no manner of reason prejudice or confront the public ritual of a Church, which as it in no instance practises communion in one kind, but to prevent that, uses often the mixture of the two species, where never so little of each is sufficient to justify the use of both; so by this custom of dropping some of the consecrated wine upon the reserved bread, it shews both its judgment and its care never to have the communion wholly in one kind: but to take off this custom of theirs, of dropping some wine upon the bread which they reserved for this communion, de Meaux says, that "immediately after they have dropped it, they dry the bread upon a chafing-dish, and reduce it to powder, and in that manner keep it, as well for the sick, as for the office of the presanctified." So that no part of the fluid wine can remain in the bread thus dried and powdered: however this is, for I must take it upon de Meaux's credit, finding nothing like it in this office of the Greeks, yet to a man that believes transubstantiation, and thinks the most minute particle of the species of wine or bread contains in a miraculous manner the whole substance of Christ's body and blood; this difficulty methinks might in some measure be solved, however small parts of the wine may be supposed to remain in the crumbs of bread; and as the Greeks, when they mix the wine and the bread together for the sick and infants, yet believe that they give both the species, however small the *margaritæ* or crumbs be which are in the wine, so they do the same as to the presanctified bread, however few unexhaled particles of wine remain in it: but

* Λειτουργία προηγιασμένων. In Eucholog. [p. 187. Lut. Par. 1647.]

Monsieur de Meaux knows very well, and acknowledges that the Greeks do further provide against a mere dry communion in this office, by mixing this sacred bread with more wine and water at the time of the communion; and then, as I proved in the case of the Latin office on Good-Friday, that the unconsecrated wine was consecrated by this mixture, and by the prayers and thanksgivings that were used at this solemnity; so by this way as well as by the first mixture of some drops of wine with the bread, the communion in both kinds will be secured in the Greek Church, in their Office of the Presanctified; and to put it out of all doubt, that this is such a communion, let us but look into their office, and we shall find there it plainly is so: "Behold," say the faithful, in their prayer before the communion, "the immaculate body and the quickening blood of Christ, are here to be set before us on this mystical table:"* and the priest in his low prayer, "begs of Christ that he would vouchsafe to communicate to them his immaculate body and sacred blood, and by them to the whole people :"† then after he has communicated, "he returns God thanks for the communion of the holy body and blood of Christ." So that "it is most remarkable," as de Meaux says, "that the Greeks change nothing in this office, from their ordinary formularies; the sacred gifts are always named in the plural, and they speak no less there in their prayers of the body and blood :" is it to be imagined they could do this, if "they received not anything upon these days but the body of our Lord?" Would they not then, as the Church of Rome has done, change in this office from their ordinary formularies? But "so stedfastly is it," says he, "imprinted in the minds of Christians, that they cannot receive one of the species without receiving at the same time, not only the virtue, but also the substance of one and the other." So firmly is it imprinted upon the minds of those Christians, that they ought not to receive one species alone without the other, contrary to the plain institution of Christ, that they take all care not to do it, either in this or any other office, lest they should lose the whole virtue and substance and benefit of them: if in spite of the opinions of the Greeks themselves, which de Meaux owns

* Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ ἀχράντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ τὸ ζωοποιοῦν αἷμα τῷ μυστικῷ ταύτῃ μέλλει προτίθεσθαι τραπέζῃ. Λειτουργ. προηγιασμένων.

† Καταξιώσον τῷ κραταιῷ σοῦ χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντον σώματος σοῦ, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, καὶ δὲ ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. Ib. [p. 199.]

are of another mind, and in spite of their public Rubric, their Rituals and Missals, they must be understood to celebrate the communion in their Churches in one kind; then so far as I know, de Meaux may as confidently impose upon us and all the world, and bear us down by dint of impudence, that both the Greek Church, and all the Christian Churches that ever were in the world, had always the public communion in one kind, notwithstanding all their Offices and all their Liturgies speak to the contrary.

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